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A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

GANDHI AND FRONTIER GANDHI AMONG N. W. F. PATHANS

BY

PYARELAL

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
AHMEDABAD

In the autumn of 1939, soon after the Munich Crisis, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan invited Mahatma Gandhi as a specialist in the science of non-violence to make a tour of the Khudai Khidmatgars (literally "Servants of God", as non-violent Pathan followers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan were called) and give them the benefit of his personal guidance. In the ensuing weeks the two together traversed the whole of the Frontier Province from end to end and side to side, planning and guiding the non-violent organization of Khudai Khidmatgars, which they hoped might provide the reply to the challenge of Munich. In the course of the joint tour Gandhiji in a remarkable series of brilliant discourses expounded in simple, elementary language the theory and practice of non-violence to the Pathan folk. After Gandhiji's tragic assassination the Frontier Gandhi continued to bear lone witness, in a manner reminiscent of the Great Master, to the principles which he had imbibed from him. The climax came in his indefinite incarceration in a Pakistan prison, where he still is, and the great experiment was consigned to the limbo of the world's saddest might-have-beens.

The authentic narrative is here for the first time told in full by one who was a close associate of both Gandhi and Frontier Gandhi and an eye witness to the events which he describes. The kernel of the book, including the introduction, was seen in manuscript form by Mahatma Gandhi, who wanted to have it published in his lifetime as a guide book for the practice of non-violence and even made some revisions to that end.

57

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PREFACE

After Gandhiji's tragic death last year I was asked by some of our revered leaders and all the closest friends and associates who constituted Gandhiji's wider family to take up the writing of his full-dress, authentic biography as a matter of sacred duty. An outline of the plan of the book was published in Harijan of 6-3-1949. But it was ten months before I could disengage myself from the work in Noakhali with which Gandhiji had entrusted me along with other members of his entourage. Further preliminaries took more time, and it was only recently that details were finally completed to begin work under the auspices of the Navajivan Trust, the prospective publishers of the biography.

I utilized the interval to prepare for publication a series of forestudies to the full-dress biography, particularly bearing on the last phases of Gandhiji's mission. The present volume is the first of the series. The next one will deal with his "Do or Die" mission of peace and reconciliation in Noakhali. The third is my sister Dr. Sushila Nayyar's diary of the twenty-one months' detention in Aga Khan Palace with Gandhiji. It will be published in the first instance in Hindustani by the Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. A Gujarati rendering will be published about the same time by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

In giving precedence to these publications I have been led by the consideration that they embody Gandhiji's reply to the atomic challenge which confronts the world today. They unfold in minute detail the theory and practice of non-violence of the strong, to perfect which especially his last days were devoted. The substance of these volumes will later be incorporated in a condensed form in the full-dress biography of Gandhiji.

My thanks are especially due to Mr. Arthur Moore and Horace Alexander for having gone through the manuscript as a labour of love, to the photographers who have allowed me to reproduce their photos to illustrate the text, and to numerous other friends without whose co-operation and help these pages might not have seen the light of day.

PYARELAL

Harijan Colony,
Kingsway, Delhi,
1st January, 1950

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1938, Gandhiji made an extensive tour of the North-West Frontier Province in the company of Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Never shall I forget the ecastatic exaltation of the soul which filled him throughout that memorable tour. To witness it was a rare privilege.

I covered the story of that tour in a series of articles in *Harijan* at that time. But it was Badshah Khan's desire that the text of Gandhiji's utterances during that tour and particularly of his discourses on non-violence before the Khudai Khidmatgars * should be made available to the public in full and as far as possible in Gandhiji's own language. The articles needed a thorough revision and at places further amplification. But other duties pressed their claim and the inspiration of those halcyon days refused to be recaptured afterwards away from the scene, and so the publication has been delayed up till now.

During two successive incarcerations in the Nagpur Central Prison in pursuance of the No-Participation-In-War-Satyagraha Campaign of the Congress in 1940, I had the privilege of coming into close touch with a number of public workers and political leaders. As *satyagrahis* they were all deeply interested in the theory and practice of non-violence. Challenging questions would now and again crop up and give rise to debate and discussions which sometimes lasted for weeks on end. To my agreeable surprise, I found that almost all the questions that were debated had been anticipated and answered by

* Literally "Servants of God" being the name given by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan — the Frontier Gandhi as he came to be known — to his volunteers, when he founded his non-violence movement among the warlike Frontier folk.

Gandhiji in the course of his talks to the Khudai Khidmatgars. These talks, as Gandhiji used to remark, constitute the most systematic and comprehensive exposition of the theory and technique of non-violence that he ever gave in one place.

Nor is this surprising. In the Frontier Province Gandhiji had to expound non-violence to a set of people who not only had no living tradition or background of non-violence for a long time past, but whose entire history for the last two thousand years had run counter to it. Non-violence was not only not an extension of what they had held and practised for a long time past, but it was in many ways its reverse. Gandhiji had therefore to begin from scratch and reduce his philosophy to its simplest terms so that even a child could understand. In the discourses to the Khudai Khidmatgar officers Gandhiji has described in minute detail the nature and working of non-violence with an anatomist's thoroughgoing patience and care, and delved deeper and deeper till you come to the pulsating spring of the Godhead enshrined in the human heart, from which it gushes forth.

Gandhiji's tour of the North-West Frontier Province was undertaken under the shadow of the Munich crisis. That gave to his utterances a distinct international slant and he did not hesitate to claim for his message a world-wide application to meet the challenge of brute force which the Munich crisis dramatized.

It has been argued that the weapon of non-violence can be of avail only when the power opposing it is susceptible to moral appeal, but is of no use against a power that has, by the totalitarian technique of suppression and unscrupulous propaganda, rendered itself impervious to world opinion or any other moral influence. For instance, it is pointed out that if the German Jews had resorted to Satyagraha, the Nazi rulers would have thought nothing of mowing them down by machine-gun fire as if they were a herd of diseased cattle and thus putting an end to all trouble and trouble-mongers once and for all.

These friends seem to forget that non-violence does not depend for its working upon the sufferance of the tyrant. It is independent of his will. It is self-sustained. For instance, it was not lack of will or confidence in his capacity to annihilate that "dark contemptible superstitious heresy" — as Christianity was then known — that stayed Nero's hand when he started burning alive Christian heretics to illuminate the nocturnal garden sports of Rome or throwing them to gladiators and hungry lions in the Colosseum to make a Roman holiday. Enlightened public opinion of his day was wholly on his side. To exterminate Christians like a pest was regarded as a laudable and meritorious act of public service. They were regarded as by nature corrupt and steeped in sedition, enemies of the State and of true religion. No anti-Jewish diatribe of Goebbels or Streicher could exceed in virulence or cold-blooded hatred words put by Anatole France into the mouth of Pontius Pilate,* which very correctly sum up the historical attitude of Roman proconsuls towards the early Christians. Nor were the Christians sufficiently numerous or important to employ "embarrassment tactics" successfully. And their persecutors knew it. Had they actually decided upon their

* "Since we cannot govern them, we shall be driven to destroy them. Never doubt it. Always in a state of insubordination, brewing rebellion in their inflammatory minds, they will one day burst forth upon us with a fury beside which the wrath of the Numidians and the mutterings of the Parthians are mere child's play. They are secretly nourishing preposterous hopes and madly pre-meditating our ruin. How can it be otherwise, when, on the strength of an oracle, they are living in expectation of the coming of a Prince of their own blood whose kingdom shall extend over the whole of the earth? There are no half measures with such a people. They must be exterminated. Jerusalem must be laid waste to the very foundation. Perchance, old as I am, it may be granted me to behold the day when her walls shall fall and the flames shall envelop her houses, when her inhabitants shall pass under the edge of the sword, when salt shall be strewn on the place where once the temple stood. And in that day, I shall at length be justified." — Anatole France: *Procurator of Judaea.*

extermination, nothing could have prevented them from it. And yet, they did not, because they could not. †

So baffling, so subtle, so novel in character and contrary to all that they had all along recognized or were familiar with was this new force that confronted them that they did not know what to do. And before they were aware of it, it had like a hidden leaven permeated and transformed the entire mass. The triumphant smile on the face of the Christian martyr, as he proceeded calmly to the stake to be burnt alive, at first surprised, then exasperated and finally undermined and overwhelmed the complaisance and smug self-confidence of the proud patrician. The javelin-proof coat-of-mail of the Roman cohorts was not proof against this subtle force. It insinuated itself secretly into the families of the high and the mighty and gained a footing even in the Imperial household.

Coming to our times, scientific testimony as to the superiority of the power of non-violence to physical strength or the cunning of the brains in nature and primitive society is furnished by that great savant Prince Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution.* Even in wild nature, where there is not any curb or check upon the destructive propensities of the strong, Kropotkin has shown that "the fittest to survive are not the physically strongest nor the cunningest but those who learn to combine so as mutually to support each other."

But, argues the sceptic, whilst in Utopia non-violence would be all right and whilst in an academic way many people would today endorse the declaration embodied in the Atlantic Charter that "on spiritual as well as realistic grounds the renunciation of the use of brute force is in-

† "And you yourself Pontius, have seen perish beneath the cudgels of your legionaries simple-minded men who have died for a cause they believed to be just without revealing their names. Such men do not deserve our contempt. I am saying this because it is desirable in all things to preserve moderation and an even mind. But I own that I never experienced any lively sympathy for the Jews."—Anatole France: *Procurator of Judaea.*

evitable in the long run", the present trend of human evolution as typified in the rise of totalitarian dictatorships is against it. This argument ignores the phenomenon of dialectical transformations and mutations in nature and history. A close study of natural and historical phenomena shows that when a particular tendency in nature or society has reached its peak, it is very often ripe for a mutation, i. e., transformation into its opposite by a sudden leap. During the last war the culmination of the power of armaments gave rise to the technique of frightfulness which means you do not need to kill if you can demonstrate your undoubted capacity to kill. By the use of this technique it was found possible by totalitarian powers to subdue and enslave whole nations almost without firing a shot. It is not without significance that although the destructive power of armaments and the numbers involved in the last World War were far greater than in World War I, actual casualties were less. Proceeding on this analogy, it should not be difficult to visualize that as the number of people groaning under the iron heel of militarism grows, the stage is set for the discovery that if the oppressed masses simply shed the fear of death, it might not be necessary for them to die to regain their freedom. The deadlier the weapons of destruction become, the greater is the chance of humanity's learning to confront them with a power of an altogether different kind against which they cannot prevail. Armaments can but destroy. Yet, total destruction is not what the tyrant seeks, but co-operation, willing or forced, of the victim and this no power of armaments can extract from a people if they have the strength to say 'No'. The moment, therefore, the people become aware of soul force or the power of the spirit, which armaments can neither destroy nor subdue, the arms will be rendered useless and the citadel of tyranny will fall.

The earliest and perhaps the most brilliant recorded historical instance of the triumph of this power of the spirit is to be found in the encounter on the plain of

Taxila between Alexander and the Indian sage Dandamis who, according to the Greek chronicler, "though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he (Alexander), the conqueror of many nations, had met his match." The reader would do well to ponder over the inner meaning of that episode, symbolizing as it does the reply of the East to the challenge of the armed might that was hurled at its head 300 years before the Christian Era :

> "The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past
> And plunged in thought again."

Today the same challenge is being repeated in an even more accentuated form and once more people's thoughts are beginning to revert to that weapon and source of inexhaustible power which is India's peculiar heritage from the past and promises to be her special contribution to the world's future progress. Humanity is in the grip of the atomic nightmare. What is the nature of this power which Gandhiji had set out to discover and present to the world ? How can it be developed in the individual and in the mass ? What is the type of organization needed for it ? How does it differ from the other type of organization based on violence ? How is a non-violent attitude to be related to the world around us which not only does not swear by unadulterated *ahimsa* but actually believes and practises largely its opposite ? These and other equally vital questions confronting a votary of *ahimsa* will be found posed and answered in these pages in Gandhiji's own words

But whilst *ahimsa* on an individual scale is independent of one's environment and can be practised anywhere and everywhere, a non-violent order calls for a particular type of socio-economic milieu. What will the mind and face of a society based on non-violence be like ? A few glimpses of this world order in miniature based on *ahimsa* will be found in the two articles on Taxila. It is an enchanting world — that once existed in actuality — a world of Arcadian simplicity, individual freedom and

natural living, honest, healthy industry and bread labour, a world in which there were the fewest laws but a highly developed social system, a world in which war was abolished and toleration in its broadest sense reigned supreme in the political no less than in the religious sphere. And all this efflorescence sprang forth from the seed of non-violence. How Gandhiji and Badshah Khan endeavoured again to plant it in the hearts of the Khudai Khidmatgars of the North-West Frontier Province will be found described in the following pages. Let the reader ponder over the inner meaning and significance of this experiment and decide for himself whether it is not worth living for and dying for.

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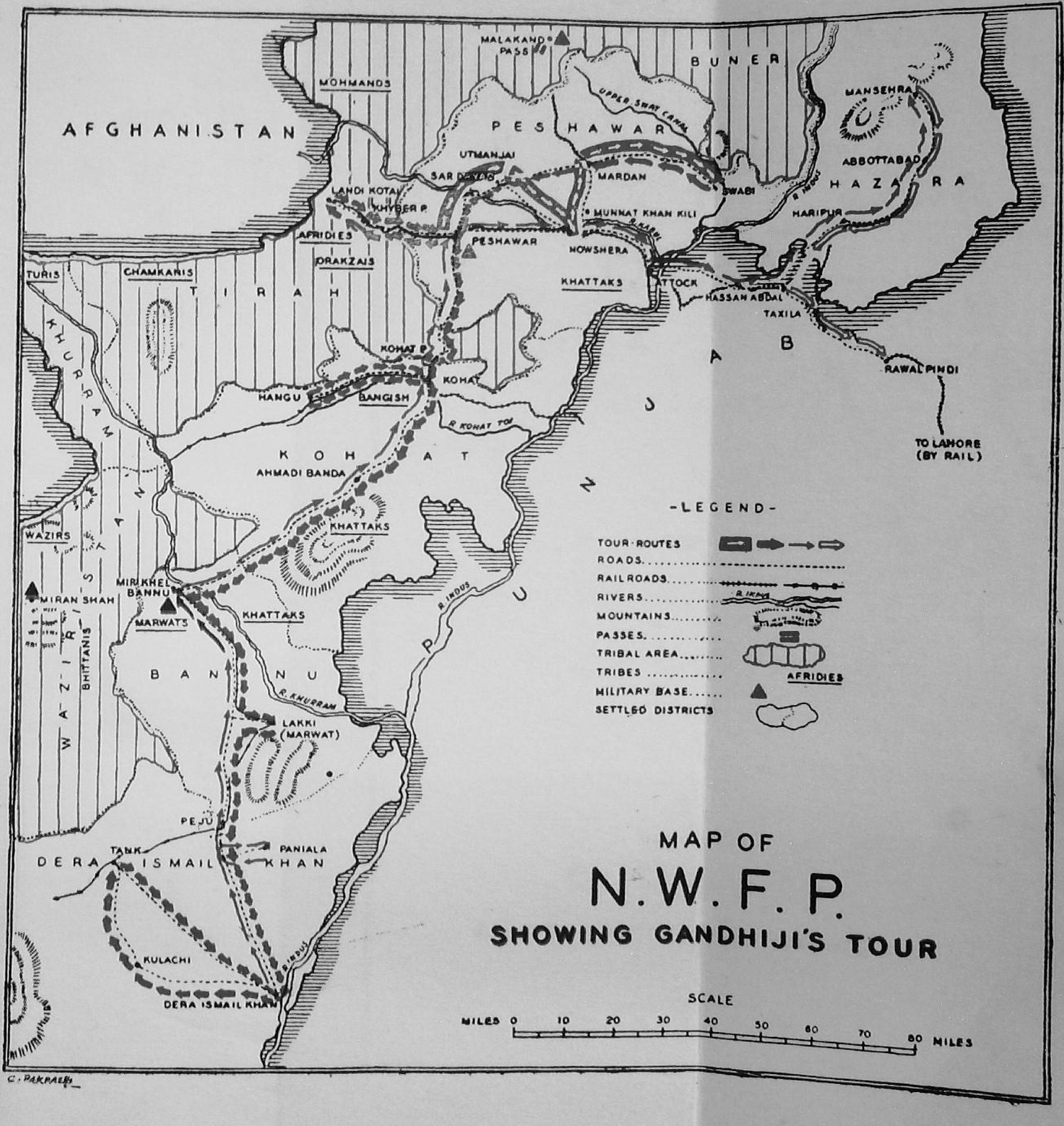
Harijan Colony,
Kingsway, Delhi,
1st January, 1950

A Note on the Cover Design

The cover design symbolically represents the modern miracle of the near conversion of the warlike Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province into soldiers of the spirit under the influence of the two Gandhis. Under the shadow of the sinister looking Khyber Pass, "the boulevard of sudden death", a monster gathering of the Pathans listens to the message of non-violence and peace from Gandhiji's lips. It is the same message as is enshrined in the Ashokan monuments in the NWFP and the ruins of Taxila (seen below), where it was practised by the ancestors of the modern Pathans two thousand years ago. The fire of passion in Gandhiji's soul is reflected in his face and the gestur of his outstretched hand. Behind Gandhiji looms the gigantic figure of Frontier Gandhi, his face radiant with joy to see his children being weaned from the curse of violence which threatened them with race suicide, and his dream of their setting an example to the world of the non-violence of the brave nearing fulfilment. The heap of broken rifles and swords are the arms that the Pathans have discarded, having discovered a far more powerful weapon in Soul Force.

CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	PREFACE	iii
	INTRODUCTION	v
	A NOTE ON THE COVER DESIGN	xii
I	THE LAND OF CONTRASTS	3
II	THE TRAMP OF CENTURIES	11
III	FROM ROADS TO RAIDS	20
IV	A NEW PORTENT	28
V	THE SHADOW OF MUNICH	47
VI	IN FRONTIER GANDHI'S VILLAGE HOME	52
VII	THE ROAD TO NOWSHERA	63
VIII	THE TWO GANDHIS CONFER	71
IX	IN THE MONTH OF RAMZAN	79
X	"THE WILD VALLEY" OF BANNU	92
XI	SOLDIERS OF VIOLENCE VERSUS SOLDIERS OF THE SPIRIT	102
XII	ACROSS THE SALT RANGE	111
XIII	KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS AND THEIR CHIEF	122
XIV	MORE SERMONS ON NON-VIOLENCE	128
XV	THE SHADOW OF PARTING	136
XVI	PESHAWAR KHADI EXHIBITION	141
XVII	TAXILA—I THE PAST SPEAKS	147
XVIII	TAXILA—II WHEN THE WORLD CONQUEROR MET HIS MATCH	155
XIX	EPILOGUE	161
	I THE GATHERING CLOUDS 161	
	II A NEW ORDEAL 166	
	III THE LONE WITNESS 175	
	APPENDIX: QUINTESSENCE OF SATYAGRAHA	195
	I PREFATORY 197	
	Rights and Duties	
	Ahimsa—The Supreme Duty	
	II AHIMSA—ITS NATURE 198	
	Ahimsa (Non-violence)—A Positive Virtue	
	Power of Non-violence	
	Non-violence in Individual and Collective Life	
	Non-violence—The Law of the Human Race	



MAP OF
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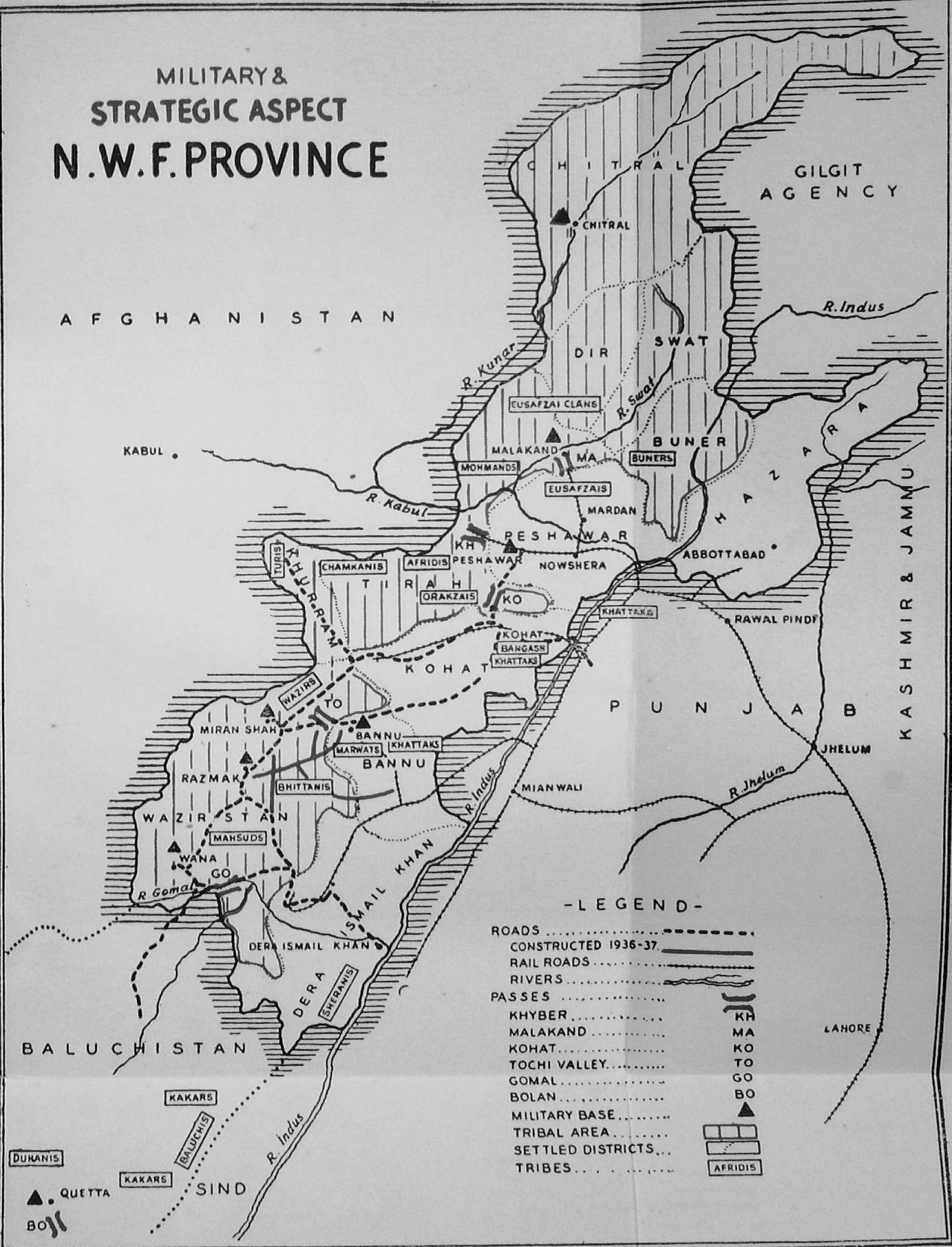
SHOWING GANDHIJI'S TOUR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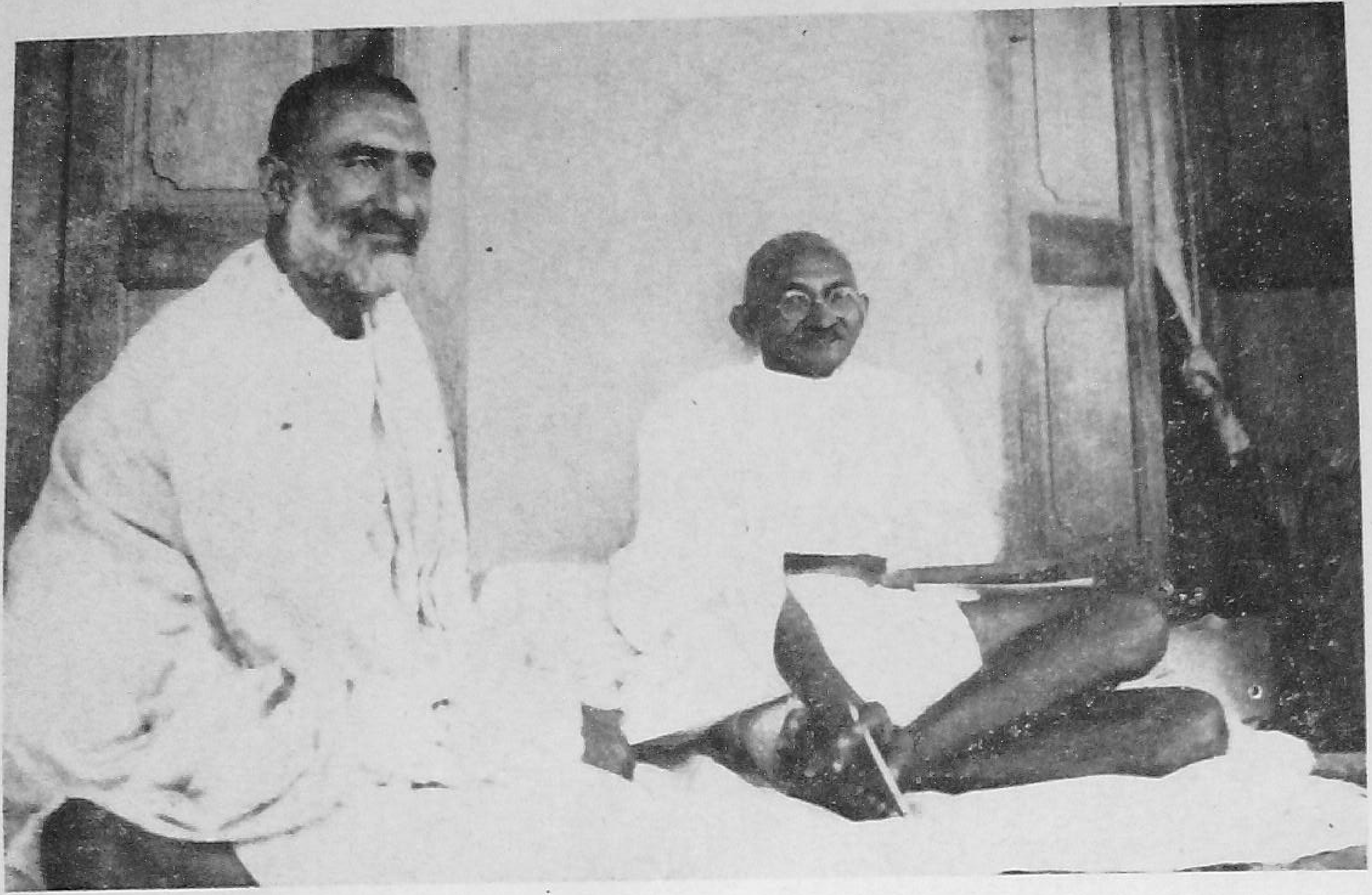

Kanu Gandhi

"BADSHAH KHAN, MY HOST"

p. 122.

A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE

Of Gandhi and Frontier Gandhi among the N. W. F. Pathans

CHAPTER I

THE LAND OF CONTRASTS

The North-West Frontier Province has been described as the land of contrasts — "of light and shade, of gaiety and tragedy, of romance and reality, of kindness and hatred, of consistencies and contradictions." Its climate varies from the blazing heat of the sun-baked Derajat to the bracing cold of the salubrious Hazara, with its vista of pine woods and snow-capped hills. The natural scenery too presents the same variations. In the picturesque mountainous north, dense forests and terraced cultivation alternate with waving, dark green fields of sugarcane and corn and charming orchards teeming with luscious fruit of the finest variety — peach and plum, apple and apricot, pear and grape, orange and pomegranate. Across the Salt Range and to the south stretch a clay desert and the treeless plain of Lakki and Marwat flanked by the uninviting, howling wilderness of the storm-swept Waziristan hills. There is in the province a profusion of natural wealth side by side with the poverty of the people.

The boundaries of the North-West Frontier country have varied from time to time. During the early Aryan period they appear to have extended from the valley of the Indus to some far away tracts in Central Asia and included the major part of Afghanistan, the present North-West Frontier Province and also the southern valley of the Indus in Sindh and perhaps Baluchistan. From about the 6th century B. C. onward, that part of the country which is known as the North-West Frontier Province formed part of the Iranian, the Greek, the Kushan, the Gupta, the Turki, the Ghorian, the Moghal and the Durrani Empires down to 1819. In 1849, after about 20 years of Sikh rule, the area now identifiable as the Settled Districts was taken over by the British.

The boundary line fixed under the Treaty of Gandamak with Afghanistan (1880 A. D.) added the eastern half of the old sub-province of Kandahar to the British Indian Empire. The modified Frontier line known as the Durand Line, was fixed in 1894 along the crests of the Sulaiman Range of mountains and brought the tribes living in the Khyber and Mohmand Tirah, Kurram and Waziristan within the British sphere of influence.

Thus, by a curious anomaly, the North-West Frontier Province came to have two boundaries, the Durand Line which separated British India from Afghanistan and the Administrative Boundary, demarcating the zone actually held by the British. The tract between these two, known as the "Tribal Belt", constituted a "No-man's Land". It was "part of India on the map but not British India in fact". Its residents did not owe any direct allegiance to the British Crown or allow their lands to be annexed. The King's writ did not run there. But the British regarded it as their "Protectorate" and claimed the right to bomb its inhabitants from the air for police purposes.*

As at present constituted, the North-West Frontier Province is bounded on the north by the mountains of the Hindukush, on the south by Baluchistan and the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab, on the east by Kashmir and the Punjab and on the west by Afghanistan. In size it is bigger than Czechoslovakia by three thousand square miles, its total area being 38,000 square miles. Its territories fall into three geographical groups, viz., (i) the cis-Indus District of Hazara, (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the Hills constituting the settled trans-Indus Districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Mardan and Dera Ismail Khan and (iii) the rugged mountainous region between these Districts and the borders of Afghanistan. Of this territory a little over one-third or 13,193 square miles is covered by the six Settled Districts. The remaining two-thirds or approximately 25,000 square miles are held by tribes of either the Tribal Belt or of the

* Further discussed in chapter IV.

Independent Territory, who, for well nigh a century, resisted subjugation by the British. For administrative purposes, the latter area (before the partition) was divided into five Political Agencies, viz., Malakand, Kurram, Khyber, North Waziristan and South Waziristan.

Much of the province is still " virgin soil ". It is rich in untapped mineral resources, the principal among these being rock-salt, oil, cement, marble, sulphur, coal and tin. Some gold and iron too have been found. It has plenty of labour and an immense reservoir of water power. The principal crops are maize and barley in the cold weather and wheat, barley and gram in the spring. Rice and sugarcane are largely grown on the irrigated lands of Hazara, Peshawar and Bannu Districts, while the well and canal irrigated tracts of the Peshawar District produce fine crops of cotton and tobacco. In the trans-border agencies, the valleys of the Swat, the Kurram and the Tochi rivers yield abundant rice crops.

The following is an account of its natural features as recorded in the Administrative Report for 1922-23 :

The District of Hazara forms "a wedge extending north-eastwards far into the outer Himalayan Range and tapering to a narrow point at the head of the Kagan valley." It comprises both the hill tracts in the *tahsil* of Mansehra and Abbottabad and the well-watered plain of Haripur *tahsil*. This area corresponds to the territory of Takshashila or Taxila — the ancient flourishing cis-Indus Kingdom, which fell to the prowess of Alexander's arms. The mountain chains which form the Kagan defile " sweep southward into the border portion of the district, throwing off well-wooded spurs which break up the country into numerous glens ". The District is a fine health resort and full of spots of rare natural beauty which can compare with any in the world.

The tract between the Indus and the hills consists of a series of three plains, viz., Peshawar, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, divided one from the other by the low hills of Kohat and by the off-shoots of the Salt Range. The vale of Peshawar is for the most part highly irrigated and

well-wooded, presenting in the spring and autumn "a picture of waving corn lands and smiling orchards framed by rugged hills". Adjoining Peshawar and separated from it by the Jawaki hills, lies the District of Kohat — "a rough, hilly tract intersected by narrow valleys........" The southern spurs of the Kohat hills gradually subside into the Bannu plains, where irrigated by the Kurram river is a tract "of unsurpassed fertility", presenting a striking contrast with the harsh desolation of the Kohat hills.........To the east is the broad, level plain of Marwat extending from Lakki to the base of Sheikh Budin hills. "A broken range of sandstone and conglomerate" divides the Bannu plain from the *daman* or plain of Dera Ismail Khan "which for the most part is a clay desert formed by the deposits of the torrents issuing from the Sulaiman range on the West."

Turning to the mountainous region between the Settled Districts and Afghanistan, to the extreme north lies the Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral. Below Chitral are the "thickly timbered forests" of Dir and Bajaur...... Between this Agency and the Khyber lie the Mohmand hills, a rough, rocky country. The Khyber itself is "a little narrow, gloomy gorge" with some scanty attempts at cultivation but bristling with "forts, picket posts and block houses". West and south-west of the Khyber comes the country of the Afridis and of the Orakzais. South of the Kurram lie the "disorderly congeries of Waziri Hills", intersected by the Tochi valley in the north and the gorges that lead to Wana plain on the south. These inhospitable hills are for the most part barren and treeless. But here and there they open into fertile and well-irrigated dales, as for instance, round Shawal, the summer grazing ground of the Darwesh Khel which is thickly wooded.

Before the partition of 1947, the Province used to be divided politically into four parts : (i) the Six Settled Districts roughly representing the territory which was taken over from the Sikhs in 1849 with a population of about 25 lakhs, (ii) the belt of tribal population numbering 13 to 14

lakhs between the boundary of the Settled Districts and the border of the Independent Territory which was subject to the political control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Settled Districts, who was answerable for the administration of the independent tribes to the Political Department of the British India Government, (iii) the northern States within the Malakand Agency, viz., Chitral, Dir, and Swat with a population of about 9½ lakhs, (iv) the region lying between the border of the Tribal Belt and the Durand Line and constituting the Independent Territory with a population of 5 to 5½ lakhs of Pathans, the bulk of whom were in Tirah and Waziristan.

The bulk of the inhabitants of the N. W. F. Province are Pathans. The term "Pathan" * is applied to any tribe speaking the Pushtu (Pukhtu) language. It has no racial significance. Thus it can be applied to Pushtu-speaking Hindus and Sikhs too of the Frontier Province, as in fact it often was, after the inauguration of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. The Pathans of the trans-border Tribal territory, who owe no dependence to Kabul, nor to the British Government, are hardier and fiercer than their fellow clansmen living in the Settled Districts of the North-West Frontier Province. The Tribal Belt, a hilly country between the Frontier Province proper and the Durand Line is held by the four important tribes of Afridis, Mohmands, Waziris and Mahsuds. Other important tribes are the Orakzais, Usufzais, Bhittanis, Shinwaris etc.

Beginning from the north, the Usufzais inhabit Buner and the hilly country beyond the vale of Peshawar. The Usufzais of Buner are said to be frugal and abstentious, yet extremely hospitable. Even the smallest village possesses its *hujra* or guest-house. They are very patriotic and proud of their descent, "of which they eternally boast ".†

To the north-west of Peshawar, between the Kabul river and the Swat river dwell the Mohmands. In their

* Rhymes with *tarn*, not to be pronounced as Paithan.

† Collin Davies : *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 60.

domestic customs they are like the Usufzais, except that they have no *hujras*. Round the Khyber and to the south live the much maligned Afridis whom circumstances have forced to become "distrustful of all mankind". Once, however, this distrust is removed, the Afridi is said to be capable of the greatest devotion, and "may turn out to be your staunchest friend".* In appearance lean and wiry, "his eagle eye, proud bearing and light step"† bespeak a freedom born of his wind-swept mountain glens. The Afridis played a very important part during the two Afghan Wars and during the Civil Disobedience days of 1930, when the brutalities perpetrated on the Khudai Khidmatgars in Peshawar and other parts of the Settled Districts caused a deep stir among them.‡

The southern villages of Tirah are inhabited by heterogeneous tribes, known collectively as Orakzais or lost tribes. Between the Kurram and the Gomal lies Waziristan, the Frontier Switzerland. It is an intricate maze of mountains and valleys. Here dwell the Waziris. Tough and rugged as the mountains which they inhabit, their nature has the untamed fierceness of the elements around them. An important off-shoot of the Waziris are the Mahsuds, nicknamed the "scourge of the Derajat borders".§ They hold the heart of Waziristan. The Bhittanis occupy the territory that stretches along the eastern borders of Waziristan, from the Gomal to the Marwat. They have a long-standing blood feud against the Mahsuds.

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* Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 62.

† Ibid.

‡ There was a delectable story told about them at the time of the Gandhi-Irwin Truce, illustrating their simple faith. In the conference with the Political authorities their 'terms of peace' were stated to be release of:

(i) Badshah Khan (Abdul Ghaffar Khan),
(ii) Malang Baba (Naked Fakir, i.e. Gandhiji), and
(iii) *Inquilab* (Revolution)....(*Inquilab Zindabad*—Long Live the Revolution—being a universal, popular slogan those days, they equated it with some patriotic individual whom the British Government had imprisoned!)

§ Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 62.

From Bannu through Kohat stretch the lands of the Khattaks. Hardworking and industrious, they are engaged in agricultural pursuits or find employment in the salt trade. In Bannu dwell the Bannuchis and the Marwats, "the most mixed and the most hybrid" of the Pathan tribes, a "mongrel" race who represent the "ebb and flow of might, right, possession and spoliation".* The flat and dreary wastes of Dera Ismail Khan are peopled chiefly by Jats, the Pathan element forming only about one-third of the total population. Similarly in the Hazara District the bulk of the population is non-Pathan, being composed of Punjabi Muslims, Gakhars, Syeds etc.

With a few exceptions the tribesmen are all Mohammedans of the orthodox Sunni sect, that is to say, they recognize all the successors of Mohammad and accept not only the Quran but also the *Hadis* or traditional sayings not embodied in the Quran.

The language of the Pathans is known as Pushtu or Pukhtu. It has a close affinity to Sanskrit from which it is derived. It boasts of a well developed literature and has produced some remarkable mystic and patriotic poetry, the best known writers being Khushal Khattak, the warrior poet (1630 A. D. – 1660 A. D.) and the great mystic Abdur Rehman Baba. The Pathans are great lovers of their language and feel most happy when addressed in their mother-tongue.

During the British period the internal administration of the tribes used to be conducted through the *Maliks* (tribal chiefs) and the *Jirga* system. *Jirga* means assembly of elders. The more democratic a tribe the wider the *Jirga*. Full *Jirga* therefore means nothing less than a gathering of every adult male. It has been remarked that the tribal *Jirga*, particularly in the Agency areas served as the school for diplomacy *par excellence* to young British officers.

The system of 'border protection' followed by the British was that of entrusting as much as possible of

* Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 66.

trans-Frontier garrison duty and watchful guard of unimportant valleys to *Khassadars* (local levies) and paying handsome allowances to tribesmen and *Maliks* to keep the peace. This system of allowances was only a euphemism for blackmail and bribery and has had its apologists among British Imperialists, e.g., Davies,* Bruce, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others.

In Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province could be found colonies of Hindus and Sikhs in the midst of Muslim population. Their total population in the Settled Districts was computed to be about two lakhs in a population of 24 to 25 lakhs. But their importance and influence was not to be judged by their numbers. Practically all the trade of the Indian border land was in their hands. In fact they constituted an economic necessity. They were the bankers, the pawnbrokers and goldsmiths. Everywhere they were to be found — shopkeepers, grain dealers and cloth merchants. On the whole, their relations with the tribesmen in the independent territory were peaceful.

* "Allowances may be expensive; may savour of blackmail to the fastidious; yet they are infinitely to be preferred to the still more expensive system of punitive expeditions."
— Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 33

CHAPTER II

THE TRAMP OF CENTURIES

Owing to its unique geographical position the North-West Frontier Province has for many centuries played an important role in Indian history. The north-west frontier of India is not represented by any definite boundary line. It is a zone or belt of mountains of varying depths, stretching for a distance of 1,200 miles. It presents an almost impenetrable barrier to any foreign invader except where it is pierced by the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan passes. It was through the "north-western gate" that wave after wave of foreign invasion poured into India and converted this province into the caravan-serai of foreign hordes, the ethnological museum of many Asiatic races. Even after the advent of European maritime powers on the Indian seaboard, the Frontier Province lost none of its importance. It continued to dominate British Indian foreign policy for nearly a century. The Frontier Province with its adjoining tribal area has been likened to "a powder magazine where the conditions are very electrical". To the British Imperial strategist the Independent Territory, without a power to back its claim to independence, represented a "No-man's Land", which could be used as a training ground * to keep the fighting force in trim, border skirmishing and

* "That the British Exchequer had been relieved at India's expense was recently acknowledged in a practical manner by the Report of the Indian Defence Tribunal (Cmd. 4473). This Tribunal allowed £1,500,000 as a rebate to India on two stated grounds:

(i) That India provides a special training ground for British troops on active service;

(ii) That the British Army in India is available for immediate use in the East."

—C. F. Andrews: *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*, p. 54.

expeditions into the tribal territory providing the necessary exercise. The young, ambitious Army Officer regarded it as an ideal "shooting preserve", where untrammelled by international conventions he could engage in a little filibustering on his own to gain some military experience. In fact a young army officer's training was not supposed to be complete unless he had served a term of active duty on the North-West Frontier. The Frontier Province was the Political Department's Eldorado, its close preserve, where everybody who was not of its freemasonry was a trespasser and which "in the interval of peace offered to British officers a field of distinction when that of war is (was) closed".†

Thanks to the official secrecy with which this "veiled sanctuary of the Political and Military Officers" has been surrounded, till recently the average person even in India had little knowledge of this fascinating region or its people, their traditions and usages, hopes and aspirations and the forces that made them what they were. To the average Westerner, the Frontier Province was just the land with the "highest murder rate in the world", the witches' cauldron where trouble was always brewing and its inhabitant, the Pathan, a predatory freebooter with "the lawlessness of centuries in his blood",* who had blood-feuds for his favourite pastime and national sport and raiding, kidnapping and holding to ransom his victims as his main occupation and means of livelihood. "Villain of the deepest dye, treacherous, pitiless, vindictive, blood-thirsty"— these are some of the epithets that have been applied to him. Nobody seems to have paused to consider how, for nearly a century he has been bullied and coerced and deceived and used as a pawn in the game (of international power politics). "His proud bearing and resolute step, his martial instincts and independent spirit, his frank, open manners and festive temperament, his hatred of

† Cited by Dewan Chand Obhrai in *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province.*

* Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 80.

control, his love of country, and his wonderful powers of endurance " † have been remarked upon by many writers from Davies downwards. But how many people in the West are fully conversant with the leading part which this province has played in the Indian struggle for independence, or with the great movement of non-violence that grew up in it in the twenties and proved that the doughty Pathan, the matchless guerrilla fighter, " the best umpire in mountain warfare ", famed in history for his martial valour, physical stamina, unrivalled marksmanship and skill in the use of arms, is also capable of holding the place of honour in the order of the " terrible meek " and excelling in the bravery of the non-violent variety which disdains the use of any other weapon except that of the spirit and against which earthly weapons cannot prevail ?

Rich in the associations of India's long history, the North-West Frontier Province is strewn with imperishable Asokan monuments which bear witness to the glory which was Buddhism and which once flourished there in its full splendour. Peshawar was the capital of Kanishka's Buddhist Empire which extended from the Vindhyas to Central Asia. To Taxila, the " biggest University in the East " in its time, pilgrims and students from the Far East and the West came in quest of piety and learning. Later when the famous Nalanda University was founded in Bihar in the 4th century A. D., most of the students there were from this part of the Buddhist domain which became the meeting place of three great cultures — the Indian, the Chinese and the Graeco-Roman. It was across these Frontier tracts that India sent her message of art and religion to the Far East.

The earliest glimpse that we have of the region known today as the N. W. F. Province is in connection with the great Aryan immigration into India across the snow-clad Hindu Kush which, starting from the river Oxus towards the valley of Herat, fanned out through

† Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 48.

Ghazni and Kabul on one side and through Kandahar and the Sulaiman mountains on the other, to the country watered by the river Indus. In the great epic *Mahabharata*, which is supposed to have been composed in about 3000 B.C., figures the celebrated heroine Gandhari — native of Gandhar (modern Peshawar) the mother of the Kauravas, the rulers of Hastinapur (modern Delhi). Panini, the great Sanskrit grammarian — perhaps the greatest grammarian that the world has produced — was born and bred in this region. Peshawar is said to have been founded by Parashurama, the great *brahmana* warrior who figures in the other ancient epic of India — the *Ramayana*. About the 5th century B. C. Cyrus, King of Persia, led his army into the territory that corresponds to the modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and Darius I annexed Gandhar (modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi Districts). The province provided troops to Xerxes for his invasion of Greece.

In 326 B. C. the Greeks under Alexander the Great, entered India and conquered the Peshawar valley which was at that time under the rule of a Raja whose capital was Pushkarwati — the modern Charsadda, on the Kabul river — and made it into a Governor's province under a Macedonian officer named Philip. The Hindu chief of Taxila, then a great centre of Buddhistic learning, labouring under a grievance against his neighbour, King Porus, invited the foreign invader to attack his rival. Porus was overthrown in battle and Alexander, after restoring his kingdom to him, pushed on as far as the Beas where his troops refused to march further against the powerful King of Magadha and the Macedonian had to retreat. After Alexander's death in 323 B. C., Ambhi, the Governor of Taxila, and Porus — their power broken by the Greek invasion —were subdued by Chandragupta and their territory was incorporated in the Maurya Empire of the King of Magadha. The whole of Afghanistan and Frontier tracts of northern India, including Kashmir, came under the highly developed civil and military administrative system of Chandragupta, as detailed in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, his world-famed Minister of State. In Chandragupta's

reign (300 B. C.) Buddhism became the prevailing religion in Gandhara (Peshawar District) and Pakhli (Hazara District). The Maurya Empire culminated in the Apostle Empire of Asoka, perhaps the greatest monarch in the world that ever lived. He made Buddhism the State religion and abolished war, touched by the miseries of a victorious war against Kalinga in which 100,000 were slain on the battlefield. Thereafter, instead of sending emissaries of war, he sent forth only emissaries of peace to deliver sermons on Peace and the Supreme Law to the nations of the world.* Under him was developed an elaborate system of Imperial administration based on

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* This is how the event is described in the famous XIIIth (Kalinga) Edict:

> "The Kalingas were conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King when he had been consecrated eight years. 150,000 persons were thence carried away captive, 100,000 were there slain and many times that number perished.
>
> "Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety, his love of that Law, and his giving instruction in that Law (*dharma*). Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and carrying away captive of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty.
>
> "Thus of all the people who were there slain, done to death or carried away captive in the Kalingas, if the 100th or the 1000th part were to suffer the same fate, it would now be matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty if it can possibly be borne with.
>
> "And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty — the Conquest by the Law of Piety — and this again, has been won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as 600 leagues............
>
> "And for this purpose has this pious edict been written in order that my sons and grandsons, who may be, should not regard it as their duty to conquer a new country. If perchance, they become engaged in a conquest by arms, they should take pleasure in patience and gentleness and regard as (the only true) conquest, the conquest won by piety. That avails for both this world and the next."

compassion and *dharma* — the law, of which Greek writers have left us a detailed account. His edicts and inscriptions found at Shahbazgarh and near Mansehra mention Taxila as one of his subordinate territories. Asoka's Frontier policy was to maintain peaceful relations with his neighbours and not to enlarge his kingdom by conquest. The first Kalinga edict desired that " the unsubdued borderers should not be afraid of me, that they should trust me and should receive from me happiness and not sorrow ".

Asoka died in 231 B.C. and with him passed away Buddhism as the State Church. From the middle of the 2nd century B.C. till about 135 B.C. Bactrian kings ruled over Bactria, Kabul, Gandhar and Taxila. Next came the Scythians called Sakas (135 B.C.) and were followed by the Kushans who, driven from their own mountains by the Huns, overran the territory held by Yavana, Saka and Pahlavi rulers. By about 29 A.D. they were ruling in Taxila. The empire of Kanishka, the third of the Kushan Kings extended over North-West India and Kashmir with Purushpura (Peshawar) as his capital. The Kushan kings continued to rule over the north-west territory up to the time of the Hun invasion in the 5th century A.D. It next formed part of Harsha's empire (7th century A. D.).

The Arabs came to India about 710 A.D. and Sabuktagin, the third in the order of Slave Kings of Balkh and Ghazni accompanied by Waziri and Afridi hordes occupied Peshawar and the plains west of the Indus. Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions followed. But Mahmud never aimed at permanent conquest of India. However, all the trans-Indus portion of the present Frontier Province was held in fief by him. But his brother Mohammad Ghori of Ghazni occupied Peshawar in 1180 A.D. Thereafter through the period covered by the Slave, Khilji and Tughlak dynasties, till the well-established reign of Akbar in the Mughal times, these parts experienced an unrelieved spell of chaos, misrule and anarchy, which became chronic, varied by an occasional foreign invasion. The most notable of these was of Timur, the Tartar, who left his capital of Samarkand in Central Asia with a vast concourse

Gopal Chitra Kuteer

GANDHIJI WITH THE KHAN BROTHERS
"Never forgot his cricket."

p. 37.

of cavalry and passing through Kabul came down through the Khyber Pass as far as Delhi, which he sacked for five days and where he massacred 100,000 male Hindu prisoners of war, building a tower out of their skulls. "After him," to quote Fielding King Hall, "not a bird moved wing for whole two months in Delhi." His ostensible reason for the expedition was the fact that as a strict Muslim he was "disgusted by the tolerance which the then Mohammedan rulers of Delhi were extending towards Hinduism".*

During Akbar's well-ordered and tolerant reign, Eastern Baluchistan and the great Persian fortress of Kandahar were added to the northern dominions and continued to form part of the Moghal Empire till after the reign of Aurangazeb. During the latter's reign and towards the close of his father Emperor Shah Jehan's reign, trouble arose beyond the Indus due to the Yusufzai rising and the rising of the Khattaks respectively, and was put down by sending out retaliatory columns against them. After the initial reverse of the Moghal arms, the Khattaks joined the Afridi confederacy and there was a general rising "from Kandahar to Attock". The Emperor himself conducted operations (1664 A.D.) to reduce the Yusufzais and "by skilful diplomacy contrived to bring the situation well in hand". His policy, which was the precursor of the policy later followed by the British Government, was "to set one tribe against another and to subsidize their chiefs into keeping peace on the Frontier, where the establishment of military posts proved less effective".†

Nadir Shah, the Persian monarch, overran the Frontier province in 1739 A.D. when he crossed the Indus, just as Timur the Lame had done in 1388, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. After his assassination in 1739 Ahmed Shah Abdali (1747-1773) formed the Provinces of Kandahar, Kabul and Ghazni, along with the area

* Cited by Fielding King Hall in *Thirty Days of India*, p. 188.

† Dewan Chand Obhrai: *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province*, p. 23.

around Peshawar, Derajat and Hazara, Sindh, Kashmir and Multan into a separate Durrani kingdom.

Following upon the break up of the Durrani kingdom and till the advent of Sikh rule, the Central Government exercised only "a sort of irregular and disturbed authority over the tract known as the Frontier". Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, pushed the Afghan settlers out of the North-West Frontier and by 1820 had occupied the territory around Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat and portions of Derajat. He may thus be said to have "created" the present N. W. F. Province by sweeping the Afghans back across the Indus into their mountains. The Sikh rule over the Frontier Province (1834-48), however, was that of the sword alone. Dacoities and blood-feuds were unchecked, and even more calamitous than these were the periodical visits of the Sikhs for revenue collection, when, in the words of Major James, "crowds of women and children fled frightened from their homes and the country presented the appearance of an emigrating colony."

After Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death, his kingdom fell into anarchy and a period of gross misrule and chaos followed. Sikh power was completely broken at the conclusion of the First Sikh War. But the danger of Afghan armies crossing the Frontier and sweeping across the trans-Indus territory impelled the British power to abandon the idea of annexing the Punjab and to recognize the minor Maharaja Daleep Singh as the ruler of that province. Under the treaty of 16th December 1846 the power of administration was vested in a Council of Regency, "acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident". The treaty of 16th December further provided that "a British officer with an efficient establishment of assistants shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State......" Sir Henry Lawrence and Reynal Taylor were accordingly posted at Peshawar, Major Abbot in Hazara and Mr. Herbert at Attock. In the Christmas season

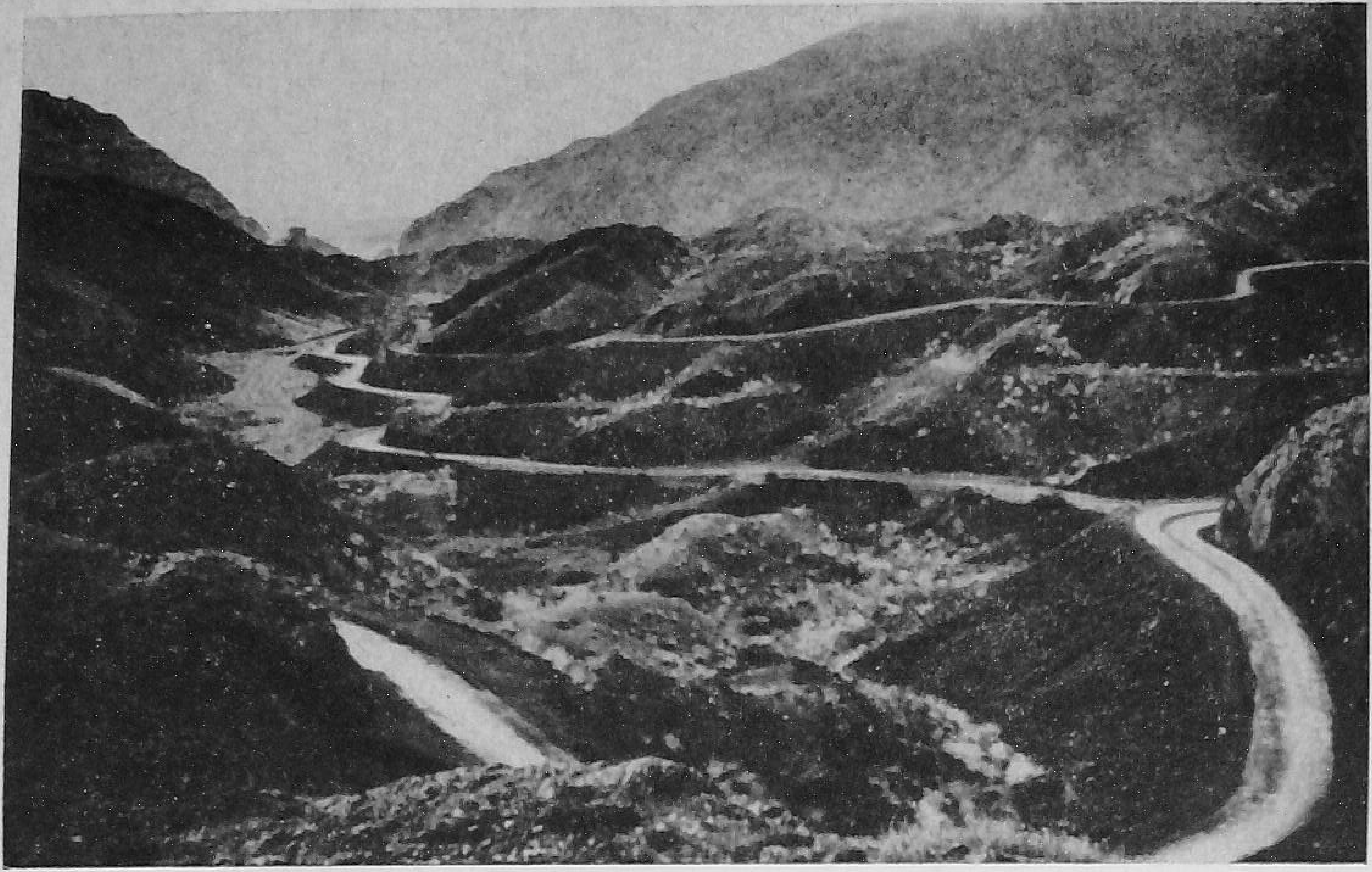
of 1847 Major Edwards was ordered to subjugate to the Khalsa Dewan "the wild valley of Bannu" for failure on the part of the Bannuchees (inhabitants of Bannu District) to pay land revenue. Profusely watered by two streams, the valley was one "in which the crops never failed and where the richest and idlest agriculture was overpaid with almost all Indian grains in abundance". What followed is graphically described by Major Herbert Edwards in his *A Year on the Punjab Frontier* and is, in fact, an epitome of the history of subsequent British rule in India :

> "It (the valley) was gained neither by shot nor shell, but simply by balancing two races and two creeds. For fear of a Sikh army, two warlike and independent Mohammedan tribes levelled to the ground at my bidding, the four hundred forts which constituted the strength of their country and for fear of those same Mohammedan tribes, the Sikh army, at my bidding, constructed a fortress for the Crown which completed the subjugation of the valley. Thus was a barbarous people brought peacefully within the pale of civilization and one well-intentioned Englishman accomplished in three months, without a struggle, a conquest which the fanatic Sikh nation had vainly attempted with fire and sword for five and twenty years."

CHAPTER III

FROM ROADS TO RAIDS

In 1849 after Lord Dalhousie's formal annexation of the Punjab, the North-Western Frontier districts came under the East India Company's administration. It brought British India into direct contact with several independent and warlike Pathan tribes occupying the so-called "tribal territory" and opened a new phase in Frontier policy. The foreign relations of India with Afghanistan during British rule passed through several phases at different times, but running through consistently was the policy of maintaining the independence of the ruling house so long as it remained in friendly relations with England and entirely free from the subversive influences of other rival powers, particularly Russia, whose moves in Central Asia were Britain's constant headache from the middle of the last century. There was the "alarmist policy" when Mount Stuart Elphinstone was sent out on his "Kabul Mission" in 1809. Then came the "meddling policy" in 1832 when A. Burns passed through on his "commercial mission" and again in 1838, when General Keene advanced into Afghanistan to dethrone the popular Barakzai chief, Dost Mohammad, and to place on the throne a friendly king, Shah Shujah, thus giving rise to the first Afghan War (1839-42). The first phase ended disastrously for the British with the assassination of Sir William Macnaughten, the British envoy, and Sir William Burns, the Political Agent, and the loss of all but one of the British troops garrisoned at Kabul. An "avenging army" was then sent. It swept on to Kabul, blew up the Great Bazar — "an inexcusable act of vandalism", as General Roberts afterwards described it. British prestige being thus "retrieved", the British forces returned to India leaving Afghanistan to stew in its own juice. This was followed by the policy of "masterly inactivity" of Sir John Lawrence when, on the death of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan in 1863, he refused to side with either of the



KHYBER PASS

" Murderous high road......boulevard of sudden death."

p. 80.

two disputing sons. But when Sher Ali emerged victorious from the contest, the Viceroy acknowledged him as the Amir.

The Russian move towards Khiva in 1864, the occupation of Yarkand in 1865 and the reduction of Bokhara "to the position of a vassal State" in 1867 and similarly of Khiva in 1873, were interpreted as a definite menace by the British Government to her far eastern possession. When on top of it, Amir Sher Ali refused to receive a British mission under Lord Lytton, with a view to entering into a definite alliance with the throne of Kabul, it was treated as a "contemptuous disregard of British interests" and the Amir's reception of a Russian envoy "as an act of war against the British Government in India".*

In 1878, the policy of sticking to the Frontier and of defending India against any foreign attack on the border line then existing gave way to what came to be known as the "Forward Policy" of abiding occupation of Afghanistan or part thereof in British interests. In pursuance of this policy which was of a piece with Napier's exploit in Sindh described in his famous "Peccavi — I have sinned (*Scind*)" despatch, a British agency was established at Gilgit, followed by a declaration of war and an attack on Kabul from three different routes (The Second Afghan War). Quetta was taken because "it would open the way to Kandahar and permit the outflanking of an enemy seeking to advance against India by the northern passes." † By the treaty of Gandmark (1880) the Amir of Kabul agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul and to cede to the English the eastern part of the old sub-province of Kandahar besides giving them the occupation of the passes. The modified Frontier line known as the Durand Line fixed in 1894 along the crests of the Sulaiman Range brought the tribes of the Khyber and Mohmand Tirah, Kurram and Waziristan within the British sphere of influence. Strong military forces were

* Cited by Dewan Chand Obhrai in *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province*, p. 41.

† Ibid., p. 42.

stationed at Peshawar, Nowshera, Risalpur, Landikotal and Kurram to enable the British effectively to control the passes, and by steady penetration tribal areas were "opened up" and further military outposts established at Wana — in the heart of the Mahsud territory, — Razmak and Miram Shah, backed by an elaborate system of strategic motor-roads, picket-posts and block-houses with forts at commanding positions.

In 1901 the five Settled Districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and five agencies were separated from the Punjab and constituted into a separate N. W. Frontier Province by Lord Curzon. The former were put under the Chief Commissioner assisted by a Revenue and Judicial Commissioner and the latter under the same officer in his capacity as the Agent to the Governor-General, directly under the control of the Central Government, "so that the conduct of external relations with the tribes on the Punjab Frontier should be more directly than hitherto under the control and the supervision of British India". The N. W. F. Province was excluded from the political reforms under the Montford scheme of 1919-20.

The immediate result of the separation was to throw back the five advanced and settled trans-Indus districts to a "lower system of administration". While the rest of India, including the parent province of the Punjab from which it was torn away, was put under a system of self-government through the reformed councils in the provinces, the Frontier Province got the Chief Commissioner's autocratic rule with the added incubus of the Frontier Crimes Regulation III of 1901,* which denied to the citizen

* "It provided for powers of courts and officers; the civil references to council of elders; penalties in shape of blockade of tribes, or fines on communities; with power to prohibit election of new villages, or to direct removal of villages, regulation of *hujras, chauks*, demolition of buildings used by robbers; powers to arrest, security and surveillance, and imprisonment with a view to prevent crimes etc., giving no right of appeal, but a restricted power of civil or criminal revision by the Chief Commissioner." — Dewan Chand Obhrai: *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province*, p. 118.

even the elementary right of legal defence. The contrast was so glaring that it created a lot of discontent among the nationalist section of the Hindus and Muslims both, who demanded re-amalgamation of the province with the Punjab. Partly as a result of this agitation, after the Second Indian Round Table Conference (1931), the province was elevated to the status of a Governor's province with a constitution analogous to other Indian provinces and a subvention from the centre to the tune of about a crore of rupees annually to enable the five Settled Districts which formed a miniature deficit province, to balance the budget.

The annexation of the Punjab in 1849, had brought with it an evil legacy which gave the Frontier no peace.† Up till the arrival of Lord Lytton (1876) the Punjab Frontier, in the words of Davies, was controlled by a system of "non-intervention varied by expeditions". "Non-intervention", was, however, a myth.* Between 1849 and the outbreak of the Sepoy Rising of 1857, there were altogether 17 expeditions. Between the outbreak of the Second Afghan War and the Pathan Revolt of 1897, there were 16 expeditions against Frontier tribes. In July 1897 there was an extensive Pathan revolt. Malakand

† "The administrative line which really followed the boundary which the British had inherited from the Sikhs, possessed no military value whatever and was like most Indian Frontiers, more likely to provide subjects of dispute than to secure a clear-cut division of interests between two neighbouring states".

— *Cambridge History of India*, p. 89.

* "In February 1921 it was pointed out in the Indian Legislative Assembly that the policy of the Government of India had always been one of non-interference....This statement of policy cannot be accepted."

— Collin Davies: *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, p. 181.

And again,

"It is my considered opinion, after sifting all the available evidence, that the 1897 disturbances were mainly the result of the advances that had taken place in the nineties. Although many of these were justified from the military point of view, they nevertheless were looked upon as encroachments into tribal territory".

— *Ibid*, p. 98.

Ridge was attacked by tribesmen in great force led by the Mad Mullah who proclaimed a Jehad (holy war) against the British. Almost simultaneously there was invasion of the Peshawar valley across the Kabul river by a combined *lashkar* in which Afridis of the Khyber Pass joined. It resulted in the despatch of the Tirah expedition into the Mohmand territory to "chastise" the Afridis. The growing conviction that it was physically difficult to conquer and hold Afghanistan without incurring ruinous expenditure in men and money, "which sound strategy suggested ought to be thrown on the enemy", led to a gradual abandonment of the Forward Policy and the substitution of a policy of cultivating friendship with a strong, stable and independent Afghanistan under a ruler prepared to give control of the independent tribes on the borders to the British Government. Accordingly, Amir Abdur Rahman was elevated to the Kabul throne which he held for many years, supported by British arms and a handsome subsidy from the India Government towards the defence of his kingdom. The policy held good during the reign of his successor, Amir Habibur Rahman, who was murdered in 1919. The holding of the "Scientific Frontier Line", however, brought in its own complications. By bringing the British power into direct touch with the trans-border tribes, it virtually enabled the Amir of Afghanistan to transfer his headache to his erstwhile antagonist, the British power. Under the treaty of Gandamak with Afghanistan and "political arrangement" (another name for coercion) with border tribes, the British Government had secured to themselves the control of the passes and territorial rights in respect of two military routes from India to Kabul, one by the Khyber, the other by the Kurram. This in its turn led to a steady penetration into the tribal territory which gave to the tribesmen the "blessing" of a system of metalled roads and strategic railways strangely at variance with their economic and political backwardness. These roads could easily be the envy of any civilized part of the West, and the strategic railways, particularly those beyond the

boundaries of the Settled Districts, winding their way round the hills and through the mountain sides, stood out as a remarkable monument to British engineering skill. But they failed to enthuse the independent tribesman. The latter might have been ignorant ; he was not unintelligent. He only saw in these roads and block-houses the symbol and instrument of his subjugation and resented the seizure of every inch of ground by the British Government for strategic purpose as an act of unprovoked aggression. The usual consequences followed, trans-border raids being met with punitive expeditions by the British. The result was a " ceaseless and chronic state of war " between the tribesmen and the British forces. For instance, every man, woman, and child in the clan (the Zakkas), according to Major Roos-Keppel,* looked upon those who committed murder, raids and robberies in Peshawar or Kohat as heroes and champions. They were the crusaders of the nation. They departed with the good wishes and prayers of all, and were " received on their return after a successful raid with universal rejoicings."

To take an instance, down to 1893 Waziristan, like the rest of Independent Territory, was beyond the British sphere of influence and was treated as part of Afghanistan. By the Durand Agreement Amir Abdur Rahman Khan renounced claim upon it. Raids and offences of all sorts were extremely rare in the eighties. But during the demarcation of the Durand Line, there was an attack on the escort at Wana. It resulted in the campaign of 1894-98. Till 1912, not a single road was completed in Waziristan territory. A road from Thal to Idak in the Tochi area appeared for the first time on the map in 1913-14. The scheme of strategic roads in Waziristan was in hand when the Mahsuds rose and field operations had to be undertaken against them. From 1917 to 1924 was the period of the Mahsud Expedition and occupation and a vigorous strategic roads construction programme. The

* Cited by C. F. Andrews in *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*, p. 62.

result was a sharp rise in the number of trans-border annual raids. The following table will show the inter-relation between the roads and raids :

Year	No. of raids	Year	No. of raids
1911-12	71	1918-19	189
1912-13	77	1919-20	611
1913-14	93	1920-21	391
1914-15	165	1921-22	194
1915-16	345	1922-23	131
1916-17	292	1923-24	69
1917-18	223		

To the Army Department of the British India Government, this was not altogether unwelcome. There was a general outcry in India at the bulk of the revenue of the country ranging up to 60 per cent of the total being absorbed by "military expenditure" and occasional skirmishes and sending of expeditions into the tribal area provided a convenient justification for it. * But it was the British Indian subjects of the Frontier in particular who paid the price. The tribesman made no distinction between the British Government and the British Indian subject who, he argued, provided men and money for aggression into his land and massacre of his kith and kin, and was thus "fair game" to kill, plunder or secure as a hostage. As an eastern proverb says, "when armies fight, it is the grass that is trampled under the feet."

More money went in bribes and punitive expeditions for the construction of every ten miles of railway or road than would have sufficed to establish schools, post offices,

* Protested Shri Bhulabhai Desai, the nationalist leader, in the course of the Central Assembly debate in 1935: "The expedition is just an excuse for the maintenance of an army, without which the present expenditure of over forty million pounds sterling cannot be justified. Once you have got an army, there is always an inclination — almost a justification — for its use. Each time we are within our borders, we must take under our wing a little beyond that border. If we have taken that part under our wing, then we must fly a little further and keep on doing that all the time. In fact, it is this talk of Frontier warfare which throughout the last thirty odd years has been the only excuse for piling up armaments at the expense of the poor people of this country."

hospitals and dispensaries and such amenities, which the trans-border people lacked and which they would gratefully have accepted as a friendly gesture. From 1882 to 1891 alone 13 crores were expended on sending out expeditions. The recurring financial liabilities of the centre on account of its Frontier policy included :

(i) One crore and fifty-four lakhs annually sent through the External Affairs Ministry.

(ii) Annual loss of two crores registered by strategic railways.

(iii) Maintenance of Defence Works and the Army in and about these parts estimated to cost about 10 or 11 crores.

(iv) The cost of the grim and almost annual military pastime of punitive expeditions or major and minor operations during the forty years following the Chitral War which easily reached an average of two crores yearly. According to a statement made in the Indian Central Assembly the total amount spent in these parts during the ninety years (1849-1938) since the British took over from the Sikhs in the Punjab approached the figure of 400 crores.

For over seventy years this went on. The result of indulging in these countless expeditions, " burn and scuttle affairs " as Sir Michael O'Dwyer called them, was almost nil. To quote Sir Michael again, " they subdued the tribe or tribesmen concerned for a time, but were unable to prevent a return to lawlessness as before." *

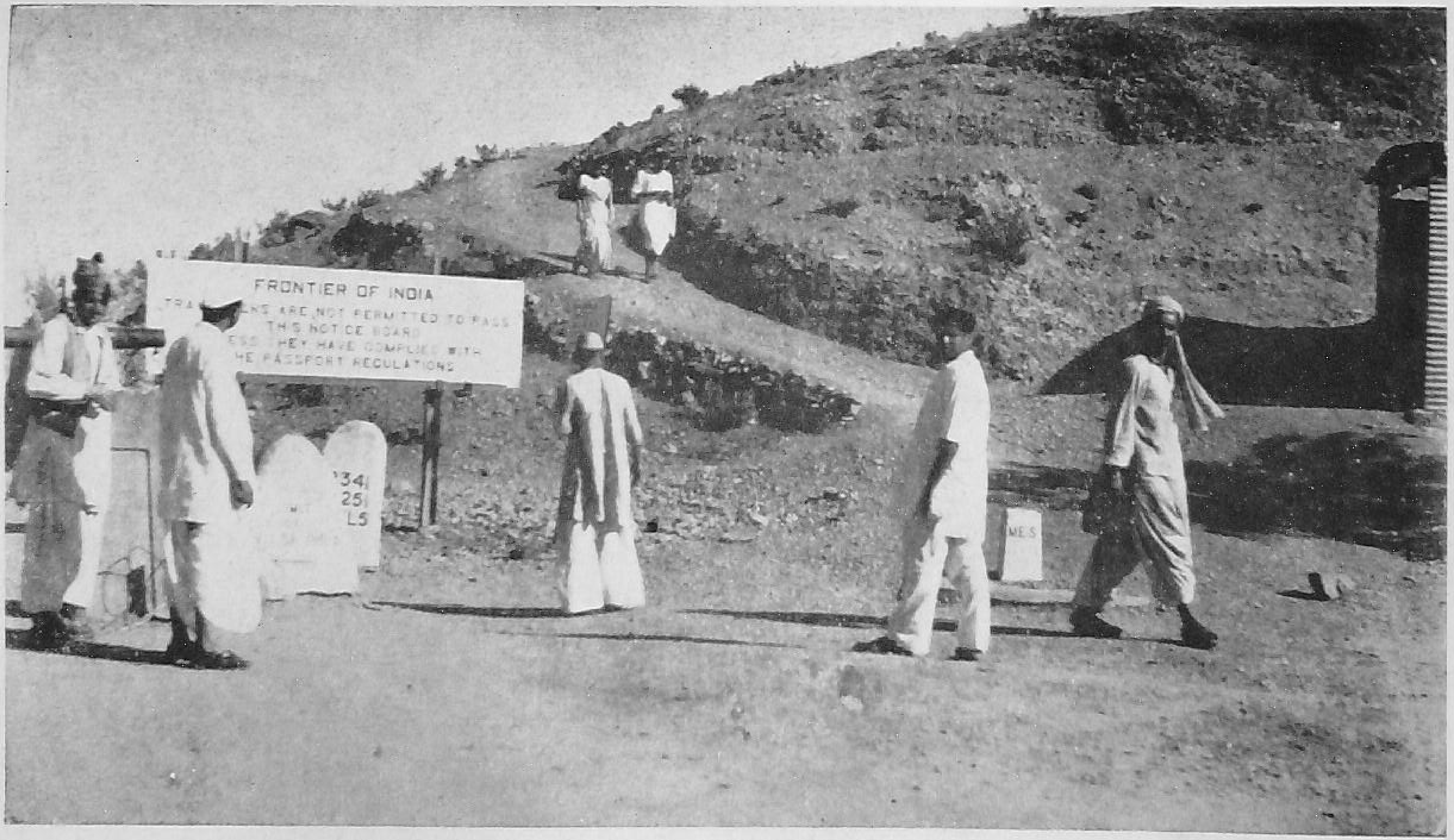
* Sir Michael O'Dwyer in Col. Bruce's *Waziristan — 1936-37.*

CHAPTER IV

A NEW PORTENT

In 1919-20 a new chapter opened in India's history. Satyagraha movement on a national scale was born. During World War I, instead of taking advantage of the difficulty of her alien rulers, India decided to co-operate in the war, but at the end of it instead of freedom she got the Rowlatt Act which, under the ostensible object of putting down seditious crime, embodied the most arbitrary suppression of civil liberties that India had ever known. It turned Gandhiji who had hitherto prided himself on being the 'loyalist subject' of the British Empire into a declared rebel and an open enemy of British rule in India. He launched a countrywide Satyagraha movement against it. The Government replied by proclaiming martial law in the Punjab which culminated in General Dyer's massacre at Amritsar. The movement against the Rowlatt Act thereafter merged and broadened into the non-violent non-co-operation movement under Gandhiji's leadership for the redress of the "triple wrong" of the Punjab Martial Law atrocities, violation of the Khilafat * and the denial of Swaraj, which India claimed as her birthright. A miracle then happened. Hindus and Muslims so long kept asunder by the 'Divide and Rule' policy inherent in any foreign Government, decided to bury the hatchet and for

* The Turkish Sultan used to be regarded by the Muslim world as their Caliph or spiritual head. During World War I, the British Premier, Lloyd George, gave a pledge that the integrity of Turkey would be maintained and the sacred places of Islam would remain with the acknowledged head of the Muslim religion. But after the war, the Turkish Empire was dismembered and deprived of her Arabian provinces. This meant violation of the Caliphate or the Khilafat since the Islamic law required that the Çaliph must exercise temporal power over the "Island of Arabia" in order to be able to protect the holy places of Islam. This was regarded by the Indian Muslims as a breach of faith and constituted the 'Khilafat Wrong'.



Gopal Chitra Kuteer

THE ARTIFICIAL FRONTIER OF INDIA
Beyond lies "No-man's Land".

p. 4.

the time became one, to the chagrin and perturbation of Imperialists, whose one anxiety thereafter was to set them by the ears so as to make India 'safe for British rule' for all time to come. Hitherto it had been their policy to nurture the Frontier Province as a bulwark against the Russian menace. Now it became their policy to develop it not from the point of view of all-India interest, external or internal but as an autonomous "Muslim majority Province" to balance the "Hindu majority Provinces" so as to serve as a bulwark against the rising tide of Indian nationalism. And to that end the Chief Commissioner and all his responsible officers of the Political Service were expected to subordinate the rights of the inhabitants of the directly administered districts "to keep the tribesmen in good temper".†

The non-co-operation movement swept over the N. W. F. Province with the rest of India in the years 1919-22. It was followed by a phase of extensive communal tension and disturbances which, in certain cases, could be shown to have been deliberately encouraged, if not actually engineered by the authorities and their agents, the local officials. The most notable disturbances in the N. W. F. Province were in Kohat in 1924 and in Dera Ismail Khan in 1927. But in spite of the virus of communalism injected into the body politic by the Government's policy, 1930 again witnessed a national mass movement in the N. W. F. Province. A new portent then appeared on the Indian horizon — the emergence of the non-violent Pathan. In the 1930 Salt Satyagraha, the Frontier Pathans in their thousands took part in the programme of peaceful picketing of law courts, foreign cloth and liquor shops. The Frontier authorities, who regarded the non-violent Pathan as a greater menace to their plans than the armed Pathan, did not hesitate to resort to the most draconian measures to suppress the non-violent Frontier movement. On the 23rd of April, following upon the arrest of leaders, there was firing at Peshawar on a

† Cited by Dewan Chand Obhrai in *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province.*

peaceful crowd of Pathans, including Hindus and Sikhs. For a full account of the gruesome tragedy that followed, we may turn over the pages of Shri V. J. Patel's *Report of Inquiry into Peshawar Firing* (1930), which was banned at that time by the British Government. Here are a few extracts culled from a report which was sent by a responsible Muslim leader of the Punjab at that time and published in *Young India*:

> "A troop of English soldiers........reached the spot and without any warning to the crowd began firing into the crowd in which a number of women and children were present...... When those in front fell down......those behind came forward with their breasts bared and exposed themselves to the fire...... some people got as many as 21 bullet wounds......and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic. A young Sikh boy came and stood in front of a soldier and asked him to fire at him, which the soldier unhesitatingly did, killing him ....an old woman seeing her relatives and friends being wounded, came forward, was shot down and fell down wounded. An old man with a four-year old child on his shoulders, unable to brook this brutal slaughter, advanced asking the soldier to fire at him. He was taken at his word and he also fell down wounded........people came forward one after another to face the firing and when they fell wounded they were dragged back and others came forward to be shot........"

"A fairly senior military officer" described the "incident" in the columns of the British-edited *Indian Daily Mail* as follows:

> "You may take it from me that shooting went on for very much longer than has been stated in the newspapers. We taught the blighters a lesson which they won't forget........Our fellows stood there shooting down the agitators and leaders who were pointed out to them by the police. It was not a case of a few volleys, it was a case of continuous shooting."

It made everybody who knew anything about the Pathans rub his eyes in wonder. Two platoons of war-hardened Garhwalis, belonging to the Royal Garhwal Rifles, who were ordered to fire upon the unresisting crowd were so affected by what they saw that they refused to carry out orders, were courtmartialled and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 10 to 14 years. Their cases were not covered by the amnesty

clause under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and they had to serve out full terms of their sentence. One of them at the expiry of his term in 1942 came to Gandhiji and stayed for some time as a member of his Ashram at Sevagram.

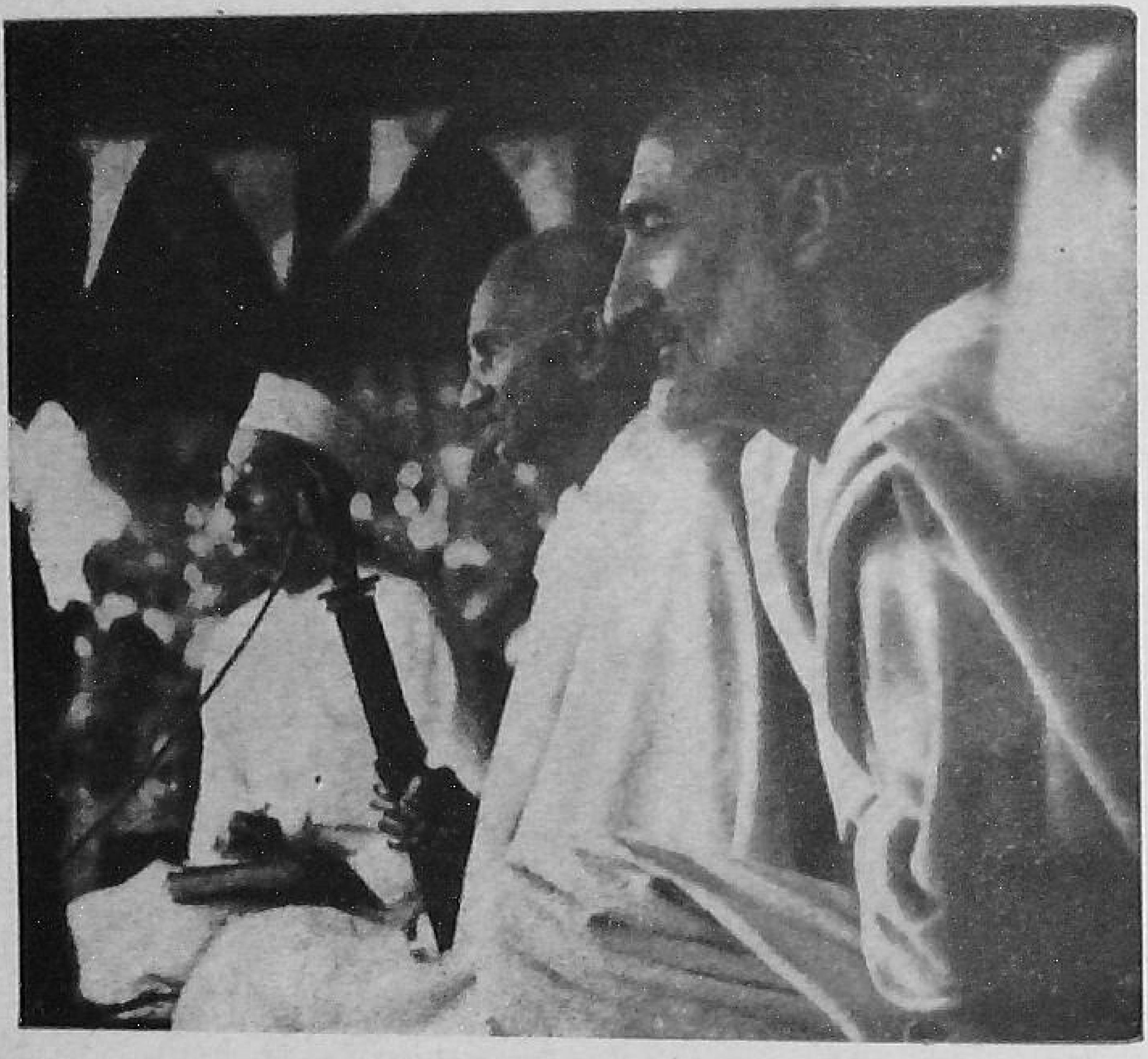
The man who brought about this marvellous transformation was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as Badshah Khan in his province who, in 1929-30, with his elder brother Dr. Khan Saheb, launched the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. "A King among men by stature and dignity of bearing" as Charlie Andrews described him, "practising *ahimsa* or non-violence and enjoining it upon his followers, and implicitly taking his instructions from Mahatma Gandhi", the story of his life almost reads like a legend or a romance. He was born in 1890 of the rich, aristocratic family of Khans of the Mohmadzai tribe. His father, Khan Saheb Behram Khan, was the chief Khan of the village of Utmanzai in the Charsadda *Tahsil* of the District of Peshawar. He studied in the Edward Mission High School but failed to matriculate and stayed at home unlike his elder brother, Dr. Khan Saheb, who proceeded to England for his higher medical studies, and returned home a full fledged member of the Indian Medical Service after serving in France in World War I. For a while Badshah Khan nursed the ambition to serve in the army and distinguish himself as a soldier but was saved from it by Providence when he saw with his own eyes the disagreeable spectacle of a friend of his in the army, whom he had gone to visit, being grossly insulted by a British officer of inferior rank. Later he joined the Aligarh Muslim University but was summoned home after one year by his father, who wanted him to proceed to England for education as an engineer. Everything had been duly arranged. Even the passage by a P. & O. liner had been booked. But devotion to mother proved stronger than the ambition to become an engineer. "One of my sons is already away. What shall I do if you go away as well?" the mother sobbed when he went to her to bid goodbye. The son's heart melted and the plan

of studying abroad went by the board. In the case of Gandhiji the mother's love by hedging him with the triple vow of abstention from wine, women and meat eating, set him on the way to life-long *tapasya* (penance). In the case of Badshah Khan — the Frontier Gandhi, as his friends lovingly call him — the mother's love made him fling away all worldly ambition once and for all and turned him into a *fakir* — as the masses in the Frontier endearingly call him — dedicated to self-sacrifice and the service of his people, particularly the poor. The decision once made, neither of them turned or looked backward. Both marched breast forward, each to meet his destiny in his own characteristic way.

In 1911, in collaboration with the Haji Saheb of Turangzai, whose patriotism later led him to go into and end his days in voluntary exile in the Tribal territory, Badshah Khan started a number of national schools in his province. During those days orthodox Mullahs were carrying on agitation against schools run by the Government but they had no alternative to suggest. Badshah Khan tried to rescue the agitation from sterility by canalizing it into constructive effort. The example of Rev. Wigram, the Principal of the Edward Mission School in which he had studied, inspired him to dedicate himself to the service of his people.

From his mother, according to him, he inherited his devout and religious bent ; from his father, his instinctive adherence to non-violence. Both of them were unlettered and both lived more in the world of the spirit than of the flesh. " My mother would often sit down after her *namaz* (Muslim prayer) to meditate in silence and stillness...... My father throughout his life made many friends but no enemies......He knew no revenge and he had something in him which told him that there was no dishonour in being deceived ; it lay in deceiving. He was a man of his word and he was so transparently truthful that not even his enemies dared to disbelieve or contradict him." * His word apparently was held to be as good as a bond

* Cited by Mahadev Desai in *Two Servants of God.*



Kanu Gandhi

"Looking the embodiment of the traditional painting of Christ."

— Robert Bernays

p. 42.

by the Frontier folk. For, his son relates how crowds of people would come and deposit their savings with him without even asking for a receipt. He never believed in dancing attendance on those in authority and yet "the biggest of British officials would address him as uncle and think twice before they could decide to displease him."

After the Haji Saheb's flight, Badshah Khan made an extensive tour of the Mohmand and Bajaur territory to see if he could carry on his mission by settling down in the midst of the tribes. He fasted and prayed and meditated for days but saw no light and in the end returned to his old labours in the field of popular education and mass uplift. When the Rowlatt Act agitation came, Badshah Khan threw himself into it. He was immediately arrested. On the 6th of April, 1919, there was a meeting at Utmanzai of over a hundred thousand people. Badshah Khan's old father too attended the meeting. After Badshah Khan's arrest, the police chief came with a *jirga* (council of the elders) to the old father and tried to frighten him by telling him that "they will shoot the Badshah". The upshot was that they arrested him too. Taken before the *jirga*, the son was simply asked if he was the Badshah (King) of the Pathans. "I said I did not know, but that I knew that I was a servant of the community and could not take the Bills (Rowlatt Bills) lying down......There was no kind of a trial.......the *jirga* used all kinds of threats and specious arguments. But I remained adamant."

So both the father and the son had their baptism of Satyagraha. "I was taken to the jail handcuffed and I had fetters on all the time of my imprisonment. I was twice my present bulk in those days, weighing 220 lb..... There were no fetters to fit my legs......they were hard put to it to find a pair and when they did put one on me, the portion above the ankle bled profusely......That did not worry the authorities, who said I should not take long to get accustomed to them."

Khan Behram Khan was released after three months and even Badshah Khan did not have to remain in prison for more than six months, as it was the policy of the then

Chief Commissioner, Sir George Roos Keppel to 'placate the Pathans'.*

The elder brother, Dr. Khan Saheb, in the meantime, after taking his degree of M.R.C.S. (London) from St. Thomas' Hospital, had gone to the front in France in utter ignorance of what was happening to his younger brother and father — not a letter from India was permitted to reach him. On his return to India in 1920 he resigned his Commission. Badshah Khan attended the Congress Session at Nagpur in 1920 and took a leading part in the Khilafat movement. He led a numerous party of *muhajreen* (pilgrim exiles) who performed an exodus as a protest against the Khilafat wrong and suffered untold hardships in their march to and from Kabul. The old Behram Khan, nearly ninety, was with difficulty dissuaded from joining. In 1921, Badshah Khan was again imprisoned by the British authorities for no other crime than establishing national schools. Even from the contiguous areas of Malakand, Bajaur and Swat the tribesmen were sending their children to these *azad* schools as they were called, and the authorities saw red. "Why should your son take it upon himself to establish this school, when no one else is interested in it?" the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Maffey, suggested to his father. The father spoke to the son. "Father," replied the son, "supposing all the other people ceased to take interest in the *namaz*, would you ask me also to give it up and forsake my duty or would you ask me to go on with the religious duty in scorn of consequences?"

"Certainly not," said the father. "I would never have you give up your religious duties, no matter what others may do."

"Well, then, father, this work of national education is like that. If I may give up my *namaz*, I may give up the school."

"I see," said the father, "and you are right."

This time he was sentenced to three years' rigorous

* Discussed in detail in chapter III.

imprisonment and was subjected to all the hardships of jail life; solitary cell, fetters for months, grinding for prison task, etc. He lost 55 lb. in weight and suffered from scurvy and lumbago and what not, as a result of the rigours to which he was subjected. He behaved as a model prisoner and conscientiously observed jail discipline, cheerfully putting up with all privations and hardships of jail life, never asking for favours or compromising on principles. Even some of the jail officials were moved by the sufferings of their high-principled, illustrious prisoner and tried to relax the rigours which were to be imposed upon him under the rules. He implored them to let him be. He started a crusade against the corruption in jail. One constable, under his influence, tendered his resignation because he could not make both ends meet without indulging in corrupt practices. The jail authorities took alarm and transferred Badshah Khan to another prison, this time in Gujarat in the Punjab, where his uncompromising honesty and rigorous observance of jail discipline became a source of embarrassment to his more easy-going fellow prisoners. But he stood firm as a rock. For, he held with that other illustrious jail-bird, Tom Clark, that "once you compromise on principle, you not only compromise truth, but you compromise your self-respect", which is the most valuable asset in the prison life of a civil resister.

The transfer to Gujarat prison brought him into contact with a wider circle and enabled him to make a study of the scriptures of other religions, especially the *Bhagawadgita* and the Sikh scriptures. In order to understand one another better, he suggested in consultation with his Hindu fellow civil resister prisoners, that there should be *Gita* and Quran classes. The classes went on for some time but ultimately had to be discontinued "for want of any other pupil but myself in the *Gita* class and for want of more than one pupil in the Quran class".*

Unlike his elder brother Dr. Khan Saheb, who often used to say in jest, "My brother offers the *namaz* on my

* Cited by Mahadev Desai in *Two Servants of God*.

behalf also," Badshah Khan never missed a single *namaz* (prayer) or *roza* (fast). With that he combined a rare catholicity of outlook. "I do not measure the strength of a religion by counting heads," he once told the late Mahadev Desai, "for, what is faith until it is expressed in one's life? It is my inmost conviction that Islam is *amal, yakeen, muhabbat* (work, faith and love) and without these the name Mussulman is sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. The Quran Shareef makes it absolutely clear that faith in One God without a second and good works are enough to secure a man his salvation."

"I think, at the back of our quarrels is the failure to recognize that all faiths contain enough inspiration for their adherents," he remarked on another occasion. "The Holy Quran says in so many words that God sends messengers and warners for all nations and all peoples and they are their respective prophets. All of them are *Ahl-i-kitab* (Men of the Book)......I would even go further and say that the fundamental principles of all religions are the same, though details differ because each faith takes the flavour of the soil from which it springs."

The period between 1924-29 was a hard testing time in the struggle for independence. Communal passions mounted high and many lost their moorings. But the Khan brothers kept their heads above the storm and never wavered. Badshah Khan ceaselessly toiled and undertook long and arduous tours on foot to carry to the tribesmen in their villages and mountain fastnesses the message of truth and non-violence and the new technique of fight without weapons which Gandhiji had presented. When the 1930 struggle came, he with his brother was again in the thick of the fight. Yet, strangely enough, they had never met Gandhiji all this time. It was only at the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 that he and his Khudai Khidmatgars, whose fame had travelled before them, first came into contact with Gandhiji and fellow workers in the cause in other parts of India.

The Khudai Khidmatgar movement was primarily conceived as a movement for social reform and

economic uplift. It aimed at teaching the Pathans industry, economy and self-reliance by educating them and inculcating upon them self-respect and the fear of God which 'banishes all fear'. It was only in 1929 that Badshah Khan decided to convert his small body of volunteer workers into a full-fledged political organization to carry out the whole of the Congress programme. The ideal of the Khudai Khidmatgars, as their name implies, was to become true servants of God — in other words, to serve God through service of humanity. They were regularly drilled and taught to take long marches in military fashion. But they bore no arms, carried no weapons, not even a *lathi* or a stick. They took the pledge to be loyal to God, the community and the motherland. They were all pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed and to service of their fellow beings without expectation of any remuneration or reward for themselves. They bound themselves to observe purity in personal life and abjured communalism. They adopted red shirts as their uniform, since white *khadi* shirts were too readily soiled and brick-red colour was commonly available in and round about Peshawar District. Up till April, 1930, the Khudai Khidmatgars did not number more than 500. In 1938 their figure stood at over one lakh.

Released on the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in January, 1931, the Khan brothers were not allowed to enjoy their liberty for long. The British officials regarded the Pact as a personal defeat * and set about to "retrieve"

* It is characteristic of the Khudai Khidmatgars that they never claimed the Gandhi-Irwin truce as a victory for themselves. Dr. Khan Saheb once related to the late Shri Mahadev Desai how during one of his visits to Peshawar with his 'Guides' during the truce, Col. Sandeman, the son of Col. Sir Robert Sandeman of Quetta fame, scarcely disguised the feeling of unhappiness over the truce which he shared with the British officials. Dr. Khan Saheb, a born sportsman who never forgot the tradition of the cricket team he led in college, soothed him, "No, Col. Sandeman, dismiss the thought of your having been defeated entirely out of your mind. Political life is a game in which the victor and the vanquished must

it. Breaches of the agreement were numerous and the Khudai Khidmatgars were given no peace. On the 23rd of December the Khan brothers were invited by the Chief Commissioner to a *Darbar*. They declined the invitation as a protest against continuance of repression on the rank and file of the Khudai Khidmatgars. On the night of the 24th of December, with almost all the important members of the family they were arrested under an Ordinance and sent out of the Frontier Province for detention for an indefinite period, just on the eve of Gandhiji's return from the Second Round Table Conference.

During the two Civil Disobedience struggles between 1930-33, there was a virtual Black-and-Tan regime imposed upon the Frontier Province. Standing crops of civil resisters were burnt, stocks of grain ruined by pouring kerosene oil into them and houses set fire to. There were martial law, shootings and *lathi* † charges and indignities and brutalities that will not bear telling. As an American tourist observed, "Gunning the Red Shirts was a popular sport and pastime of the British forces in the province." They were stripped naked, made to run through cordons of British soldiers who kicked them and jabbed them with rifle ends and bayonets as they ran. They were thrown out from the roofs of houses, ducked in dirty ponds and subjected to indecent tortures which, in some cases, left them maimed for life.

The Pathans are a proud, sensitive race who prefer death to dishonour. One of the Khan brothers' cousins, Haji Shah Nawaz Khan, compelled by domestic circumstances to pay security to secure release, was so overcome by remorse that he quietly killed himself as an expiation for his weakness. His friends and relatives in vain argued

shake hands with one another as much as in a game of football or cricket. And here, in this instance, there is no question of victory. We have just had a draw in which there is no victor and no vanquished." When they parted from each other, the soldier said, "Well, well, we have known each other so well that I hope and pray the 'Guides' may not have to be guilty of anything bad in Charsadda."

† Long bamboo sticks sometimes heavily shod with iron.

with him that he could go back to prison by doing some act in breach of security. He simply left a note behind saying that the disgrace he had brought upon the family could be expiated only by his death.

Another prominent worker, Syed Abdul Wadud Badshah, a great religious head and zamindar from the Malakand Tribal Agency, had been in prison for three years. His decrepit old father, being very near death's door, paid the security so that he might see his son before he passed away. The son, on coming out, shot himself dead, unable to bear the shame of it.

Everybody knows how highly excitable * the Pathans are. Yet, throughout this period, not a single case of actual violence was adduced against the Khudai Khidmatgars. Some of them committed suicide when their non-violence was strained to the breaking point.

In 1934 the Khan brothers were again released, but an order was passed banning their entry into the Frontier Province and the Punjab. Badshah Khan came and stayed with Gandhiji at Wardha. He sent for his daughter who was in England for education and put her in Mahila Ashram (a women's educational institution) at Wardha under the care of Mirabehn (Miss Slade), Admiral Slade's daughter, who had taken to Gandhiji's way of life and become his close and devoted associate. This was in the last week of November. On the 7th of December, Badshah Khan was again arrested under a warrant from the Bombay Government in connection with a speech which he had delivered on the invitation of the Association of Young Christians at Bombay and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

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* Fielding King Hall narrates the following as an instance of the proverbial inflammability of the Pathan in his *Thirty Days of India*:

> "One Pathan was sitting on the ground listening in intently to a radio broadcasting programme whilst his neighbour continued to chatter. The first man told the talker to shut up, but the latter observed that he had as much right to speak as "that loud mouth over there". The radio fan promptly switched off the human "loud speaker" by sticking a knife into his ribs."

On his release in 1936, he again came to Gandhiji and stayed this time as the guest of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj at Wardha, though he passed most of his time with Gandhiji in his Sevagram Ashram, which continued to be his home till the turn of the wheel enabled him to go back to his province. It was a great and valuable opportunity for both, for it enabled them to know each other most intimately, and there grew up between them a bond which continued to grow closer and closer.

Memory fondly lingers over the many heart to heart talks which they had during their stay together, their unequalled love and regard for each other and the sharing of their respective inner experiences. To Gandhiji, with his passion for communal unity, Badshah Khan symbolized the entire Muslim community. And where else could you find a truer Muslim, more devout, more deeply religious, more transparently sincere or more tolerant than Badshah Khan? On Badshah Khan's part, it was not name or fame or even Gandhiji's political work which drew him to the latter. The secret of his devotion to and unquestioning faith in Gandhiji was that he found in Gandhiji a kindred spirit, a man of faith and prayer, dedicated to a pure, ascetic life, who waited upon God and sought to do His will even in the littlest of little acts of his life.

"There is nothing surprising in a Mussulman or a Pathan like me subscribing to the creed of non-violence," he once remarked. "It is not a new creed. It was followed 1,400 years ago by the Prophet all the time He was in Mecca and it has since been followed by all those who wanted to throw off an oppressor's yoke. But we had so far forgotten it that when Mahatmaji placed it before us we thought he was sponsoring a novel creed......To him belongs the credit of being the first among us to revive a forgotten creed and to place it before a nation for the redress of its grievances."

"Whenever a question of great pith and moment arises in Gandhiji's life and Gandhiji takes an important decision," remarked Badshah Khan on one occasion, "I

instinctively say to myself, 'This is the decision of one who has surrendered himself to God, and God never guideth ill.'"

And again, "I have never found it easy to question his decisions, for he refers all his problems to God and always listens to His commands. After all I have but one standard of measure and that is the measure of one's surrender to God."

In 1937 the Congress decided to accept office in the Provinces under the Government of India Act of 1935, supplemented by certain assurances of the Viceroy. The Khan brothers were precluded from taking part in the elections as the externment order banning their entry into the Frontier Province still stood, and even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not allowed to enter the Frontier Province to conduct the election campaign, while leaders of the Muslim League from India were allowed all facilities. The officials openly worked against the Khan brothers and the Congress. In spite of it Dr. Khan Saheb secured a thumping majority and was declared elected *in absentia*. In September, 1937, a Congress Ministry was formed in the Frontier Province under his Premiership, and the outlaws of yesterday became the party in power in their land of birth.

But Badshah Khan, the *Fakir* (the recluse), did not stand for election, nor did he join his brother's Ministry, but chose instead to tread the hard and stony path of service. He had become convinced that nothing but non-violence, as inculcated by Gandhiji, could elevate his people and raise them to their full moral stature. How deep was his passion for service and his faith in non-violence will be seen from the following statement of his recorded in *Young India*:

> "My non-violence has become almost a matter of faith with me. I believed in Mahatma Gandhi's *ahimsa* before. But the unparallelled success of the experiment in my province has made me a confirmed champion of non-violence. God willing, I hope never to see my province take to violence. We know only too well the bitter results of violence from the blood-feuds which spoil our fair name. We have an abundance of violence in our

nature. It is good in our interests to take training in non-violence. Moreover, is not the Pathan amenable to love and reason? He will go with you to hell if you can win his heart, but you cannot force him even to go to heaven! Such is the power of love over the Pathan. I want the Pathan to do unto others as he would like to be done by. It may be, I may fail and a wave of violence may sweep over my province. I shall then be content to take the verdict of fate against me. But it will not shake my ultimate faith in non-violence which my people need more than anybody else."

For over a decade and a half Badshah Khan had fought against the British but at the end of it he harboured no ill-will or bitterness in his heart. "The British have put me in prison, but I do not hate them," he told Robert Bernays who interviewed him during the Truce in 1931. "My movement is social as well as political. I teach the 'Red Shirts' to love their neighbours and speak the truth. Muslims are a warlike race; they do not take easily to the gospel of non-violence. I am doing my best to teach it to them." *

That night the author of *The Naked Fakir* recorded his impression of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his diary as follows:

"Looking the embodiment of the traditional painting of Christ Abdul Ghaffar Khan is a kindly, gentle and rather lovable man. As well think that old George Lansbury is a dangerous revolutionary........"

In the following year (1938), Badshah Khan invited Gandhiji to make a tour of his province to study and guide the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. The inauguration of the Congress Ministry had created an anomalous situation in the Frontier Province. The British authorities, especially the Political Department in the N. W. F. Province, had not taken kindly to the coming of the Congress into power. They now used the tribesmen as an invisible lever against the Congress Ministry. In this they were aided by the dual system of administration which obtained in the Frontier Province. For instance, whilst the Governor in his capacity as the head of the Provincial Government was, under the constitution, required to act on the advice

* Robert Bernays: *The Naked Fakir.*

of his Ministers, in the matter of the tribal areas, he was responsible only to and had direct dealings with the Viceroy as King's representative. Again, under the doctrine of the 'inseparability of the Districts and the tribal territory', whilst the higher civilian officers, in regard to their functions as District Magistrates, were under the Ministry, the same officers as administrators of the tribal territory were answerable directly to the Political Department and could and did actually do things over the heads and even without the sanction and knowledge of the legislature or the Ministry. The language of the official Administrative Reports in the period from 1919-20 to 1936-37 gives one the impression that the authorities almost regarded communal feeling as a specific against "political distemper". Take for instance, the following from the 1931-32 report in regard to the N. W. F. Province :

"During the early days of September, there was a lull in the political activities of the Province, perhaps largely due to the absence from their headquarters of Abdul Ghaffar Khan who, after a visit to Simla to meet Mr. Gandhi and a short stay in the Punjab, proceeded direct to Dera Ismail Khan, where he spent a week in an unsuccessful attempt to effect a reconciliation between the Hindu and Mohammedan communities."

And further :

"*At this time, the political situation in the District was much easier.*" (Italics mine.)

Deterioration of relations between the Ministry in power and the Political Department and the Army was reflected in slackness and indiscipline in the services and an increase in lawlessness. In the third quarter of 1946, Pandit Nehru, as the Vice-President of the Interim Government that had been set up at the Centre in terms of the 15th of May announcement of the British Cabinet Delegation, visited the N. W. F. Province. His visit was an occasion for a right royal welcome by the Khudai Khidmatgars lining at regular intervals both sides of the road

on a route more than ten miles long. But in the Malakand Agency his car was ambushed by some tribesmen. The officials were suspected to have a hand in the affair, and action had to be taken against the political officer concerned for dereliction of duty.

Characteristic of this new challenge were the Bannu raid and the Dera Ismail Khan riots.† What was the popular Congress Ministry to do? Force had been tried by the British and had failed. The British Government had even tried aerial bombing of the tribes. It shocked the civilized conscience of mankind but could not reduce the tribesmen to submission.* The experiment of Sir Robert Sandeman of Quetta fame, of "peaceful penetration" and "control from within" by "supporting the tribal headman" and "conferring moral and material

† See chapters x and xii.

* At the 1933 Air Disarmament Conference at Geneva Sir Anthony Eden put forward, on behalf of Great Britain, a plea to exempt from the ban "air bombing for police purposes in certain outlying districts." His argument was that the only alternative would be the use of land troops, involving casualties perhaps of a heavy nature. "The sending of expeditionary forces involved loss of life and health", whereas in air bombing "usually a warning sufficed, and it was possible, perhaps, to avoid casualties altogether." The motion was opposed by Mr. Wilson, U.S.A., who insisted that the abolition of bombardment from the air should be "absolute, unqualified and universal."

Lieut.-General MacMunn in his book on the Frontier, pp. 273-274, describing the comparative ineffectiveness of air bombing, writes: "One of the disappointments of modern times is the uselessness of the Air Force in handling the problem. It was hoped that a solution might have been found. But it was soon realized that bombing has no material effect against tribal skirmishers and sharp-shooters...... Even punitive bombing has been realized as of little avail. To bomb unwarned means destruction of families. To bomb after warning is absurd."

As regards the defence that no casualties of the tribesmen were involved because previous warning was given, here is what Charlie Andrews, that God-fearing Englishman, says: "The first warning they get is the first bomb which is dropped on them by aeroplanes." —*The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*, p. 94.

benefits" (The Sandeman System) could possibly be held out as an example of what could be achieved by way of 'gradual civilization and betterment of tribes'. It, however, carried with it its own seeds of evil. Apart from the fact that it sought to stabilize an effete feudal system, it was not in essence different from the imperialist system of grab of which it was really an adjunct. Did it not enable the British gradually, almost imperceptibly to absorb the whole strip of territory which constitutes the present Province of Baluchistan and open up the Gomal Pass, "although the politicals in the Punjab had been sitting before those mountain ranges in Waziristan for years?" † Every writer on the Frontier from Davies downward has noted the democratic character of the Pathan tribesmen and their intense passion for freedom. Is it any wonder that they regarded the Sandeman system as a menace to their much treasured freedom?

Of a different order was the venture of Dr. Pennell of the Bannu Mission, who settled down among the Pathan folk to evangelize them by loving, selfless service. He lived among them, adopted their dress, spoke their language fluently and ultimately laid down his life serving them. He always went unarmed among the most turbulent Pathan folk and when once a new commandant insisted that he should take an escort, he answered that that would be the surest way of getting ambushed and shot. It was said of him that to have Pennell was worth "a couple of regiments". Such was the power this man of peace had come to wield.

But Dr. Pennell's was an individual venture, not free from a suspicion of a proselytizing motive. It still left unanswered the question of questions, so admirably propounded by that saintly Englishman, Charlie Andrews:

> "Is there a place for moral resistance in face of the violent measures that are destroying civilization today? Would it have been possible in Korea, Manchukuo or North China for the Chinese to have resisted in this manner Japanese domination?

† Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his foreword to Col. Bruce's *Waziristan — 1936-37.*

Could it have had a place in counteracting Italian aggression? Could it be employed in Spain? How is the conscience of the world to be roused against the aggressor in such a way that mere physical success becomes turned into a moral defeat? Is there a moral world sanction that does not depend for its effectiveness upon the use of physical force? Would it be possible to use such a moral sanction, to put a last question, to pacify the tribesmen on the North-West Frontier of India?"

Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgar movement had partly furnished the answer. Gandhiji now set out to see whether the question mark could not altogether be removed.

CHAPTER V

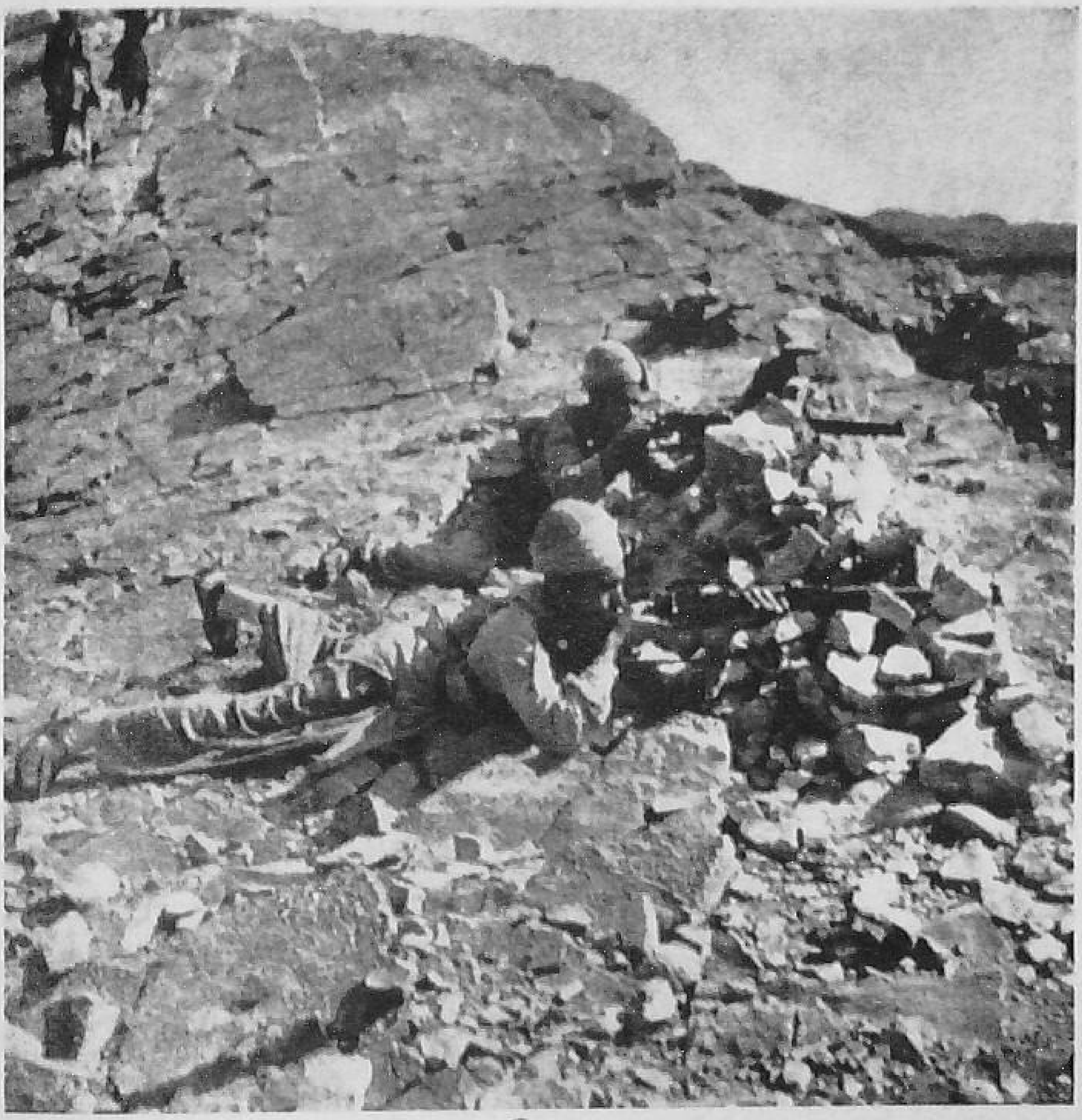
THE SHADOW OF MUNICH

After prolonged consultations with Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan (endearingly called Badshah Khan by the Frontier people), his prospective host, Gandhiji set out from Sevagram towards the close of September, 1938, on a one month's tour among the Khudai Khidmatgars in the North-West Frontier Province. It was in fulfilment of a promise he had given to Badshah Khan. His health had been none too good and it was with no small trepidation and anxiety on the part of friends that he decided to halt at Delhi on the way and face the strain of the Working Committee and a couple of other meetings that had been arranged to be held there in anticipation of his visit. The Working Committee met under the shadow of the war cloud that threatened to burst over Europe and decided to go into a perpetual sitting till the crisis was over. Its members met and discussed and talked over this question of questions "loud and long". But before they could arrive at any final conclusion the crisis for the time being was resolved by the signing of the Munich Pact, and the entire picture changed with kaleidscopic quickness. There were Congressmen who felt that India ought to make England's adversity its opportunity to strike the most favourable bargain with that country to gain control of political power which was her due. But to Gandhiji the occasion represented the hour of his trial and of India's trial. What would it profit her if she gained complete control of power but lost her soul into the bargain? For nearly a quarter of a century he had endeavoured to inculcate the way of non-violence upon the country. His life's work was at stake. What account would the Congress give of itself in this hour? Would it have the strength and the courage to live up to its creed of unqualified non-violence in the face of a possible European conflagration? "If the

Congress could put the whole of its creed of non-violence into practice on this occasion," he remarked to a friend, "India's name would become immortal. She would make history. But I know, today, it is only a dream of mine." "Should India take to the sword, she would cease to be the India of my dreams and I should like to betake me to the Himalayas to seek rest for my anguished soul," he had written on a memorable occasion. "You may rest assured," he told some friends who interviewed him at Delhi, "that whatever happens there will be no surrender. For me, even if I stand alone, there is no participation in the war even if the Government should surrender the whole control to the Congress." To another friend who doubted whether enough people would respond to his call of unqualified *ahimsa* in the face of danger, he replied, "Who would have thought aeroplanes to be a practical reality fifty years ago? Who would have imagined in this country, thirty years ago, that thousands of innocent men, women and children would be ready smilingly to march to the prison? The weapon of *ahimsa* does not need supermen or superwomen to wield it; even beings of common clay can use it and have used it before with success. At any rate, fifteen members of the Working Committee did express their readiness to put their *ahimsa* to the test. That was more than I was prepared for."

Though the crisis for the time being was averted, it set him thinking furiously. He began to address his thoughts to Europe. "It needed great courage," he wrote to a friend, "but God gave it."

In an article entitled "If I were a Czech", dated Peshawar, 6th October, 1938, in which he characterized the Anglo-French arrangement with Herr Hitler as "peace without honour", he wrote: "I want to say to the Czechs and through them to all those nationalities which are called 'small' or 'weak'......that the small nations must either come or be ready to come under the protection of the dictators or be a constant menace to the peace of Europe. In spite of all the goodwill in the world England



FRONTIER DEFENCE—OLD STYLE
TOCHI SCOUTS
"Raiders carried away sentry along with rifle."
p. 114.

and France cannot save them......If I were a Czech, therefore, I would free these two nations from the obligation to defend my country. And yet,......I would not be a vassal to any nation or body......To seek to win in a clash of arms would be pure bravado. Not so, if in defying the might of one who would deprive me of my independence I refuse to obey his will and perish unarmed in the attempt. In so doing, though I lose the body, I save my soul, i. e., my honour.......

"'But,' says a comforter, 'Hitler knows no pity, your spiritual effort will avail nothing before him.'

"My answer is, 'You may be right......If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing worthwhile. My honour is the only thing worth preserving. That is independent of Hitler's pity. But as a believer in non-violence, I may not limit its possibilities. Hitherto he and his like have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare say that it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have.'

"But, says another comforter, 'What you say is all right for you. But how do you expect your people to respond to the novel call? They are trained to fight......'

"You may be right. But I have a call I must answer. When I first launched out on Satyagraha in South Africa I had no companion......But the honour of the nation was saved. New history was written by the South African Satyagraha. A more apposite instance is that of Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Servant of God as he calls himself, the Pride of Afghan as the Pathans delight to call him. He is sitting in front of me as I pen these lines. He has made several thousand of his people throw down their arms. He thinks he has imbibed the

lesson of non-violence. He is not sure of his people. I reproduce the pledge that his soldiers of peace make:

"In presence of God I solemnly affirm that:

1. I hereby honestly and sincerely offer myself for enrolment as a Khudai Khidmatgar.

2. I shall be ever ready to sacrifice personal comfort, property and even life itself to serve the nation and for the attainment of my country's freedom.

3. I shall not participate in factions, nor pick up a quarrel with or bear enmity towards anybody. I shall always protect the oppressed against the tyranny of the oppressor.

4. I shall not become member of any other organization and shall not furnish security or tender apology in the course of the non-violent fight.

5. I shall always obey every legitimate order of my superior officers.

6. I shall always live up to the principle of non-violence.

7. I shall serve all humanity equally. The chief object of my life shall be attainment of complete independence and religious freedom.

8. I shall always observe truth and purity in all my actions.

9. I shall expect no remuneration for my services.

10. All my services shall be dedicated to God; they shall not be for attaining rank or for show."

I have come to the Frontier Province, or rather he has brought me, to see with my own eyes what his men here are doing. I can say in advance and at once that these men know very little of non-violence. All the treasure they have on earth is their faith in their leader. I do not cite these soldiers of peace as at all a finished illustration. I cite them as an honest attempt being made by a soldier to convert fellow soldiers to the ways of peace. I can testify that it is an honest attempt, and whether in the end it succeeds or fails, it will have its lessons for *satyagrahis* of the future. My purpose will be fulfilled if I succeed in reaching these men's hearts and making them see that if their non-violence does not make them feel much braver than the possession of arms and the ability to use them they must give up their non-violence, which is another name for cowardice, and resume their arms which there is nothing but their own will to prevent them

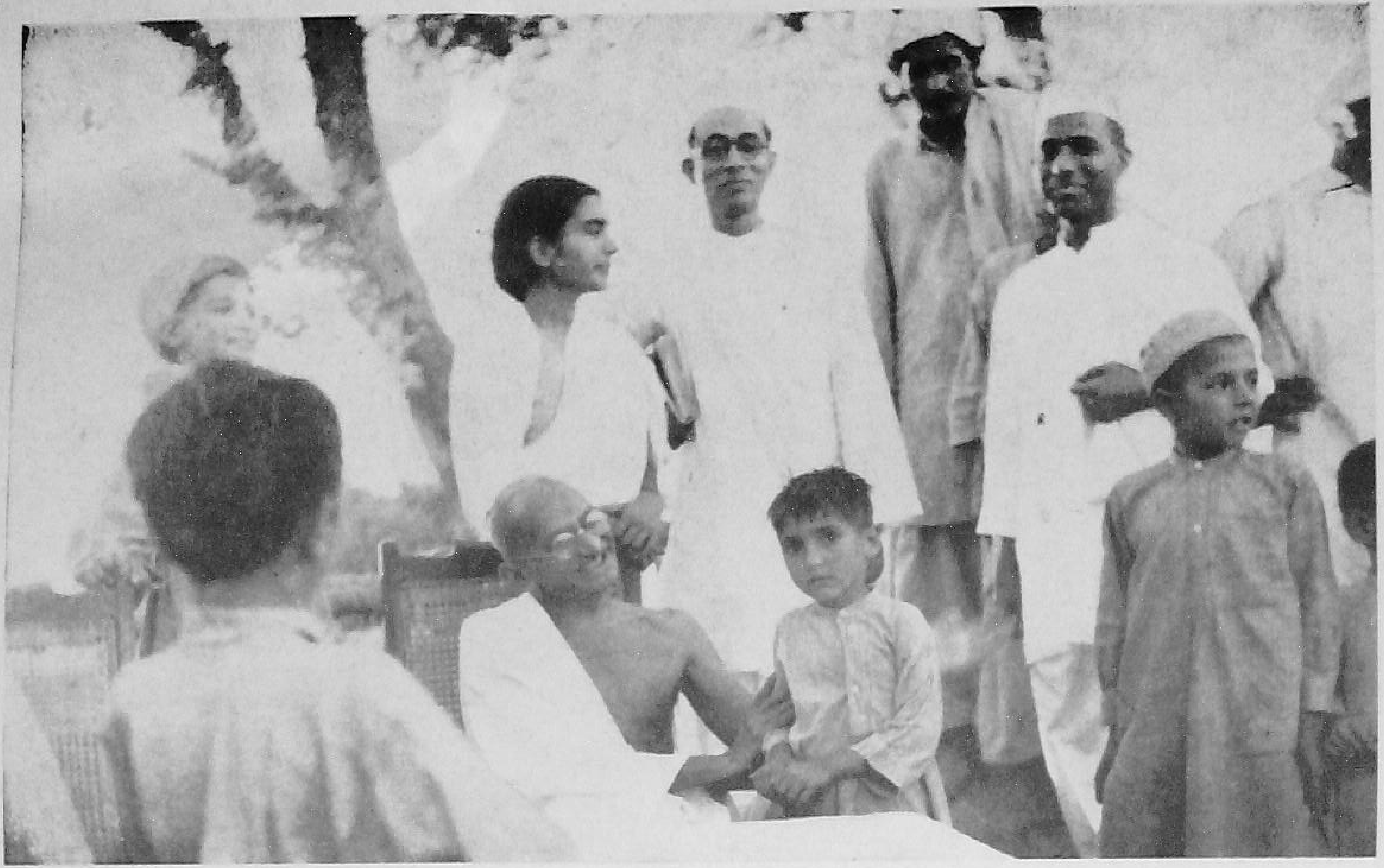
from taking back........There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fullness of faith that the spirit alone lives, nothing else does."

CHAPTER VI

IN FRONTIER GANDHI'S VILLAGE HOME

Thanks to the hospitable care of Badshah Khan and his brother Dr. Khan Saheb, contrary to all forebodings Gandhiji flourished in the bracing climate of the North-West Frontier Province. The cold was not yet too intense and there was an agreeable nip in the air. Badshah Khan, the *fakir*, gave him all the rest that one could wish for. A kinder or a more considerate 'jailor' Gandhiji never had. He left Gandhiji free to follow his regime of almost unbroken silence and to order his time just as he liked. There were no public functions, no interviews, practically no conversations even by written slips of paper. It is related about Emerson that when he paid his historic visit to the Sage of Chelsea, neither of them spoke a word. At the end of his "wordless interview" the Poet of Concord rose with the parting remark, "Sir, we had a good talk," to which Carlyle, who believed in the virtue of silence, replied, "Yes, sir, and a most eloquent one." I am perfectly sure that if Gandhiji had only wished it, Badshah Khan, on his part, would have been satisfied to give him a "tour" without any touring and a "programme" without any engagements, and at the end of it allowed him to say Emersonwise, "Sir, we had an exciting tour programme!"

Badshah Khan never feels completely happy, unless he can breathe the fresh, free air of the countryside in the midst of his native surroundings. No Pathan ever does. And Badshah Khan has a particular horror of big cities with their seething population, self-seeking and chicanery. In order, therefore, to give to Gandhiji complete physical and mental rest, he brought him away from Peshawar on the 9th of October, 1938, after a four days' stay, to his country residence at Utmanzai.



Kanu Gandhi

FRONTIER DEFENCE (NEW STYLE) — BEFRIENDING THE TRIBESMEN

"Mohmand caps, ruddy, cherub faces."

p. 64.

Set in the midst of a landscape of rare pastoral beauty, on the bank of the Swat river, the little village of Utmanzai is not lacking in idyllic charm. For miles together on all sides there is an unbroken stretch of dark green fields of maize and cane and legumes and cotton, interspersed with fruit gardens which grow the finest fruit, from blood-red oranges to prize peaches and plums and grapes and apricots and rich luscious pears. The soil is rich, the water plentiful, thanks to the Swat river canal which, with the soft gurgle of its numberless little waterfalls, fills the entire landscape with a gentle, unceasing music by day and by night.

On the edge of the village there is a small, picturesque water mill. A quaint, old-world air hangs over the place, which seems loath to change with the changing times. The houses in the village, even of the aristocracy, are mostly mud, with thick adobe walls and heavily timbered roofing which keep them cool in the hot weather and agreeably warm in the cold. Some of these houses are still built in the old Pathan style with *hujra* (guest room) in front, the stables next, and the residential quarters proper right at the back. The *hujra* at present serves as the servants' quarters, but in the good old days it served also as the 'village club house' where all the male adults of the village daily gossiped together and smoked, and where the bachelors slept at night in preference to their own homes. The horses in the stables, I was told, used to be kept ready harnessed day and night in the old unsettled times so that in case of an emergency the Khan could in an instant leap into the saddle and ride off.

Thanks to the fine metalled roads with which the whole of the Frontier Province is heavily intersected, and increasing facilities for vehicular traffic which they provide, the stables are today almost all empty, though an enthusiastic horse-lover might still, here and there, try to maintain the appearance of the old tradition. These roads are a gratuitous gift, at the expense of the poor Indian tax-payer, which the Frontier Province owes to the strategic exigencies of British Imperialism. During the Civil

Disobedience days they became at once a prize and a penalty for "insubordination". The more mettle a village showed, the more metal it got in the form of a metalled road — for punitive purposes, of course.

The village has no proper drainage system; there is no municipality. The principal drain meanders sluggishly through the streets, spreading out into black, slushy, and none too sweet-smelling pools here and there, and ends blindly. Nor have the people learnt the value and importance of proper sanitary arrangements. All this left a deep impression on Gandhiji's mind and formed the theme of a talk which he gave to the Khudai Khidmatgars later at Peshawar.

A little incident in connection with Gandhiji's stay at Utmanzai, that was misreported and exercised several friends, must be noticed here in passing. Being over-anxious for Gandhiji's safety, Badshah Khan had posted on the roofs of the rooms in his residence Khudai Khidmatgars to keep watch during the nights that Gandhiji was at Utmanzai. Before posting them, Badshah Khan had a talk with Gandhiji without mentioning his plan. He simply asked if Gandhiji objected to policing. Gandhiji was in silence and, without knowing what he was in for, he nodded so as to say, he did not. Badshah Khan understood it as consent for the posting of armed night watches. When, however, Gandhiji came to know of armed guards, he objected and said that whilst he would tolerate policing for others he could not tolerate armed guards for his protection. It would be quite contrary to the practice of a lifetime. Badshah Khan had thought that since the arms were meant only to scare away possible mischief-mongers and were intended never to be used, Gandhiji probably would have no objection to their retention. Gandhiji pointed out the fallacy in his argument by a parable. The Lord God once sent for the serpent and told him that He would take away his fangs. "All right," replied the serpent, "but, let me retain my hiss." "You may do so," warned the Lord God, "but remember, Adam's children will in that event exterminate you and your kind." "The moral,"

remarked Gandhiji, "is that show of force is also a species of violence and brings upon the user the same retribution as violence itself, indeed it is worse." Badshah Khan appreciated Gandhiji's objection. The guards were removed, but Badshah Khan insisted on unarmed night watches to which Gandhiji submitted, though under protest.

To Gandhiji's mind the incident seemed to be symbolical of another and bigger issue that confronted the country. Just as a *satyagrahi* must renounce the use of arms for self-protection, even so, if India was ever to attain non-violent Swaraj she must first be able to defend herself against the trans-border raids without the help of the police and the military. Here in the Frontier Province there were said to be one *lakh* of Khudai Khidmatgars pledged to the creed of non-violence. If they had really assimilated the principle of non-violence, said Gandhiji, if their non-violence was the true non-violence of the brave and not a mere expedient or a lip profession, they ought to be able to befriend the trans-border raiders by their loving service, and to wean them from their raiding habit. Indeed they could win independence for India and set an example to the whole world.

He opened out his heart in the course of a talk with Badshah Khan : "The conviction is growing upon me," he began, "that unless we can develop the capacity to stop these Frontier raids without the help of the police and the military, it is no use the Congress retaining power in this province. For, in that case, our strength will continue to ebb away and we are bound to be defeated in the end. A wise General never waits till he is beaten. He withdraws in time from a position which he knows he would not be able to hold."

"For years," he continued, "ever since we met each other, it has been a pet dream of mine to visit the tribal areas, go right up to Kabul, mix with the trans-border tribes and try to understand their psychology. Why should we not go forth together, present to them our viewpoint and establish with them a bond of friendship and sympathy ? I am certain that the only way of bring-

ing about a permanent settlement of the Frontier problem is through the way of peace and reason. If our Khudai Khidmatgar organization is what its name signifies and what it ought to be, I am sure we can achieve that feat today.

"I am, therefore, anxious to find to what extent the Khudai Khidmatgars have understood and assimilated the spirit of non-violence, where they stand and what your and my future line of action should be.

"In South Africa a small band of 13,000 *satyagrahi* countrymen of ours were able to hold their own against the might of the Union Government. General Smuts could not turn them out as he had the 50,000 Chinese who were driven out bag and baggage in less than six months and that without compensation. He would not have hesitated to crush us if we had strayed from the path of non-violence. What could not an army of one *lakh* Khudai Khidmatgars trained in the use of the non-violence method achieve ?"

Addressing the officers of the Red Shirts next he proceeded, "We are lucky in having a true, honest, God-fearing man like Badshah Khan in our midst here. To his credit stands the miracle of making thousands of Pathans renounce their arms. No one can say what the future will reveal. May be that all Khudai Khidmatgars may not prove to be true servants of God as their name implies. But making due allowance for all that still what has been achieved is nothing short of marvellous. What I shall expect of you is that even if some one subjects you to the most inhuman tortures, you will joyfully face the ordeal and make the supreme sacrifice with God's name on your lips and without a trace of fear or anger or thought of revenge in your hearts. That will be heroism of the highest type. To fight with the sword does call for bravery of a sort. But to die is braver far than to kill. He alone is truly brave, he alone is martyr in the true sense who dies without fear in his heart and without wishing hurt to his enemy, not the one who kills and dies. If our country, even in its present fallen state, can exhibit

this type of bravery, what a beacon light will it be for Europe with all its discipline, science and organization! If Europe but realized that heroic as it undoubtedly is for a handful of people to offer armed resistance in the face of superior numbers, it is far more heroic to stand up against overwhelming numbers without any arms at all, it would save itself and blaze a trail for the world."

He told Badshah Khan that he would like to have a heart to heart talk with as many Khudai Khidmatgars as possible so that he might be able to understand them thoroughly and they, him. Accordingly, he met the officers of the Charsadda *tahsil*, thirteen in number, on two successive days at Utmanzai, and another group at Peshawar. At both places, in reply to his questions they assured him that their adherence to the principle of non-violence was implicit and unqualified. They even went so far as to declare that even if the impossible happened and, as Gandhiji had postulated to them, Badshah Khan turned away from the path of non-violence, they would not give up their faith in non-violence.

Gandhiji told them that though it sounded to him an overbold statement for them to make, still, as was his wont, he would take them at their word. He explained to them in detail what his conception of the nature and implications of non-violence was. It was comparatively easy to maintain a passive sort of non-violence when the opponent was powerful and fully armed. But would they remain non-violent in their dealings amongst themselves and with their own countrymen, where there was no extraneous force to restrain or check them? Again, was theirs the non-violence of the strong or that of the weak? If theirs was the non-violence of the strong, they should feel the stronger for their renunciation of the sword. But if that was not the case, it was better for them to resume their weapons which they had of their own free will discarded. For it was much better for them to be brave soldiers in arms than to be disarmed and cowardly.

"A charge has been levelled against me and Badshah Khan," he remarked, "that we are rendering India and

Islam a disservice by presenting the gospel of non-violence to the brave and warlike people of the Frontier. They say that I have come here to sap your strength. The Frontier Province, they say, is the bastion of Islam in India, the Pathans are past masters in the use of the sword and the rifle and mine is an attempt to emasculate them by making them renounce their arms and thus undermine the citadel of the strength and security of Islam. I wholly repudiate the charge. My faith is that by adopting the doctrine of non-violence in its entirety you will be rendering a lasting service to India and to Islam which, just now, it seems to me, is in danger. If you have understood the power of non-violence, you ought to feel the stronger for having put away your arms. Yours will be the spiritual strength with which you can not only protect Islam but even other religions. But if you have not understood the secret of this strength, if as a result of renouncing arms, you feel weak instead of stronger than before, it would be better for you to give up the profession of non-violence. I cannot bear to see a single Pathan turn weak or cowardly under my influence. Rather than that I would that you returned to your arms with a vengeance.

"Today the Sikhs say that if they give up the *kirpan* * they give up everything. They seem to have made the *kirpan* into their religion. By discarding it, they think, they will become weak and cowardly. I tell them, that is an idle fear and I am here to tell you the same. I have read the Quran with as much care and reverence as I have read the *Gita*. I have read other important books on Islam too. I claim to have as much regard in my heart for Islam and other religions as for my own, and I dare say with all the emphasis that I can command that although the sword has been wielded in the history of

* A miniature dagger which the Sikhs generally wear in their turban as a religious symbol. Some of the Sikhs, during the period of communal tension, claimed the right to carry *kirpans* of any size they liked as a matter of religious right, to which exception was taken by the authorities as being in contravention of the Arms Act Regulations.

Islam and that too in the name of religion, Islam was not founded by the sword nor was its spread due to it. Similarly in Christianity the sword has been freely used. But the spread of Christianity was not due to its use. On the contrary, the use of the sword has only tarnished its fair name. Millions in Europe swear by Christianity. But contrary to the teachings of Jesus, they are engaged in a fratricidal orgy of bloodshed and murder, which is a negation of true Christianity. If you can assimilate what I have been telling you, your influence will travel far and beyond your borders and you will show the way to Europe.

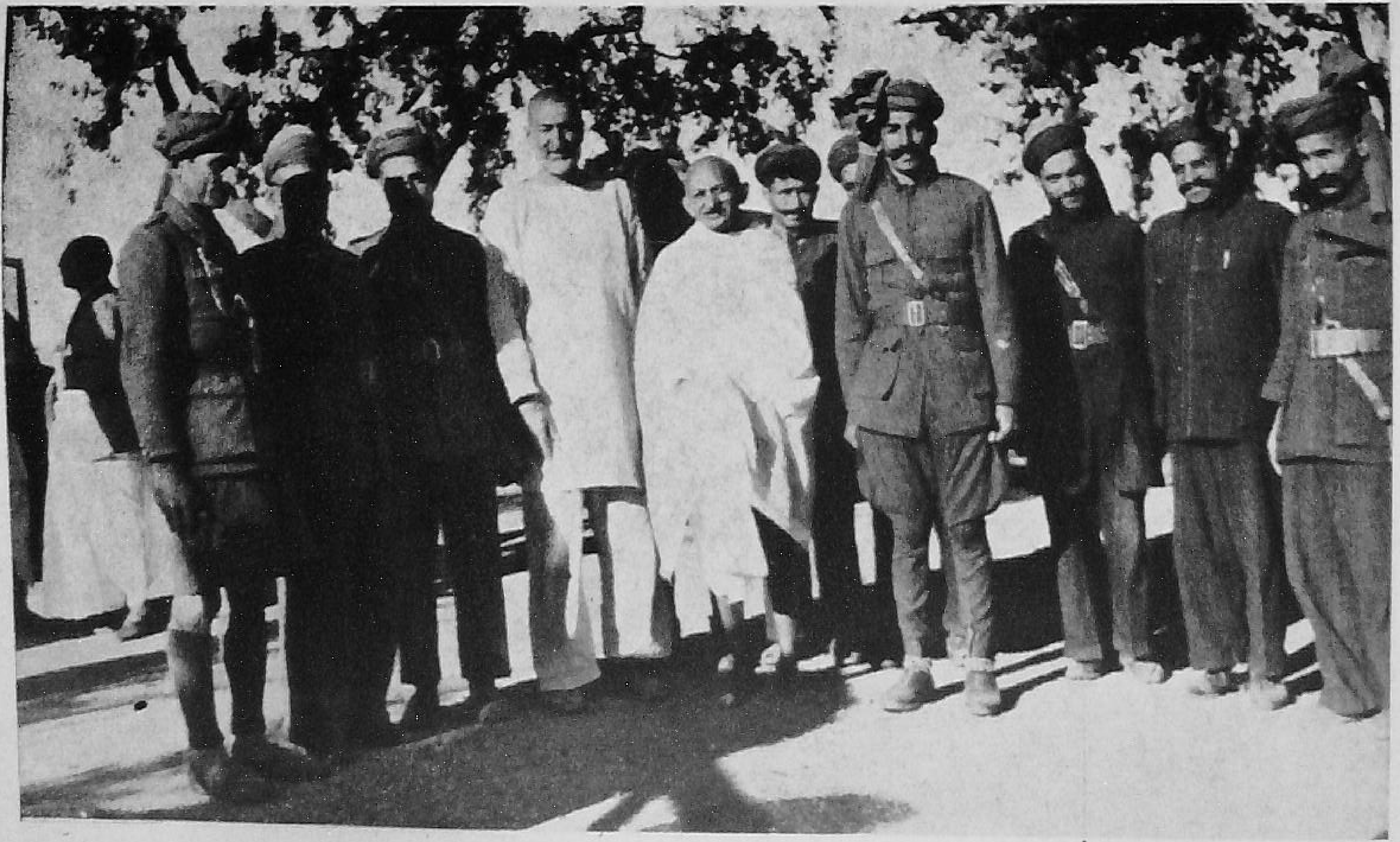
"Today a force of 17,000 British soldiers is able to rule over us because they have behind them the power of the British Government. If Khudai Khidmatgars really felt within themselves the upsurge of soul force as a sequel to their renouncing arms, not even 17,000 would be needed to win India her freedom, because they shall have the strength of God behind them. As against it if a million of them professed non-violence while there was violence lurking in their hearts, they would count as nothing. You should renounce the sword because you have realized that it is the symbol not of your strength but of your weakness, because it does not make for true bravery. But if you put away your sword outwardly but there is the sword in your hearts, you shall have begun the wrong way and your renunciation will be devoid of any merit. It may even prove dangerous.

"What is the meaning of eradicating violence from the heart?" he next asked and proceeded to explain that it meant not merely the ability to control one's anger but its complete eradication from the heart: "If a dacoit inspires anger or fear in my heart, it means that I have not yet purged myself of violence. To realize non-violence means to feel within you its strength, otherwise known as soul force, in short, to know God. A person who has known God will be incapable of feeling or harbouring anger or fear within him, no matter how overpowering the cause for it may be."

A Khudai Khidmatgar, he told them at one place, had first to be a man of God, i.e. a servant of humanity. It would demand of him purity in deed, word and thought and ceaseless, honest industry, since purity of mind and idleness are incompatible. They should, therefore, learn some handicraft which they could practise in their homes. This should preferably be ginning, spinning and weaving as these alone could be offered to millions and in their own homes: "A person who renounces the sword dare not remain idle for a single minute. An idle man's brain, as the popular proverb says, is the devil's workshop. Idleness corrodes the soul and intellect both. A person who has renounced violence will take the name of God with every breath and do his work all the twenty-four hours. There will be no room for an idle thought.

"Moreover, every Khudai Khidmatgar must have an independent means of livelihood. Today many of you have land, but your land can be taken away from you, not your craft or your manual skill. It is true that God provides to His servant his daily bread but only if he perform bread labour. If you work not, neither shall you eat, is nature's law and should be yours too. You have adopted red shirts as your uniform. I had hoped you would have adopted *khadi* too which is the livery of freedom. But I see that very few among you wear *khadi*. The reason perhaps is that you have to provide your own uniform and *khadi* is dearer. That would not be so if you spin for yourself."

They should further, he told them, learn Hindustani, as that would enable them to cultivate and enlarge their minds and bring them in touch with the wider world. It was up to them also to learn the rudiments of the science of sanitation and first-aid, and last but not least, they should cultivate an attitude of equal respect and reverence towards all religions. "It is not the wearing of the red shirt that makes a Khudai Khidmatgar," he concluded, "nor standing in serried ranks but to feel within you the strength of God which is the opposite of the strength of arms. You have yet only arrived at the portal of non-



Kanu Gandhi

ADDRESSING KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR OFFICERS

"They will be found among the bravest men when the test comes."

p. 193.

violence. Still you have been able to achieve so much. How much greater your achievement will be when you have fully entered its holy edifice! But as I have said before, all that requires previous preparation and training. At present you lack both."

A dialogue between Badshah Khan and Gandhiji next followed :

Badshah Khan : There are some Pathans in the villages here who persecute Khudai Khidmatgars beyond endurance. They beat them, seize their lands and so on. What are we to do against them ?

Gandhiji : We have to meet their high-handedness with patience and forbearance. We have to meet their atrocities in the same way as we used to meet the Britishers', not answer violence by violence, nor abuse by abuse, nor harbour anger in our hearts. If we do that it is sure to melt their hearts. If it fails, we shall non-co-operate. If they seize our lands, we shall refuse to provide them the labour even though we may have to starve. We shall brave their wrath but refuse to submit or go against our conscience.

Badshah Khan : Would it be permissible for us to lodge a complaint against them before the police and get them punished ?

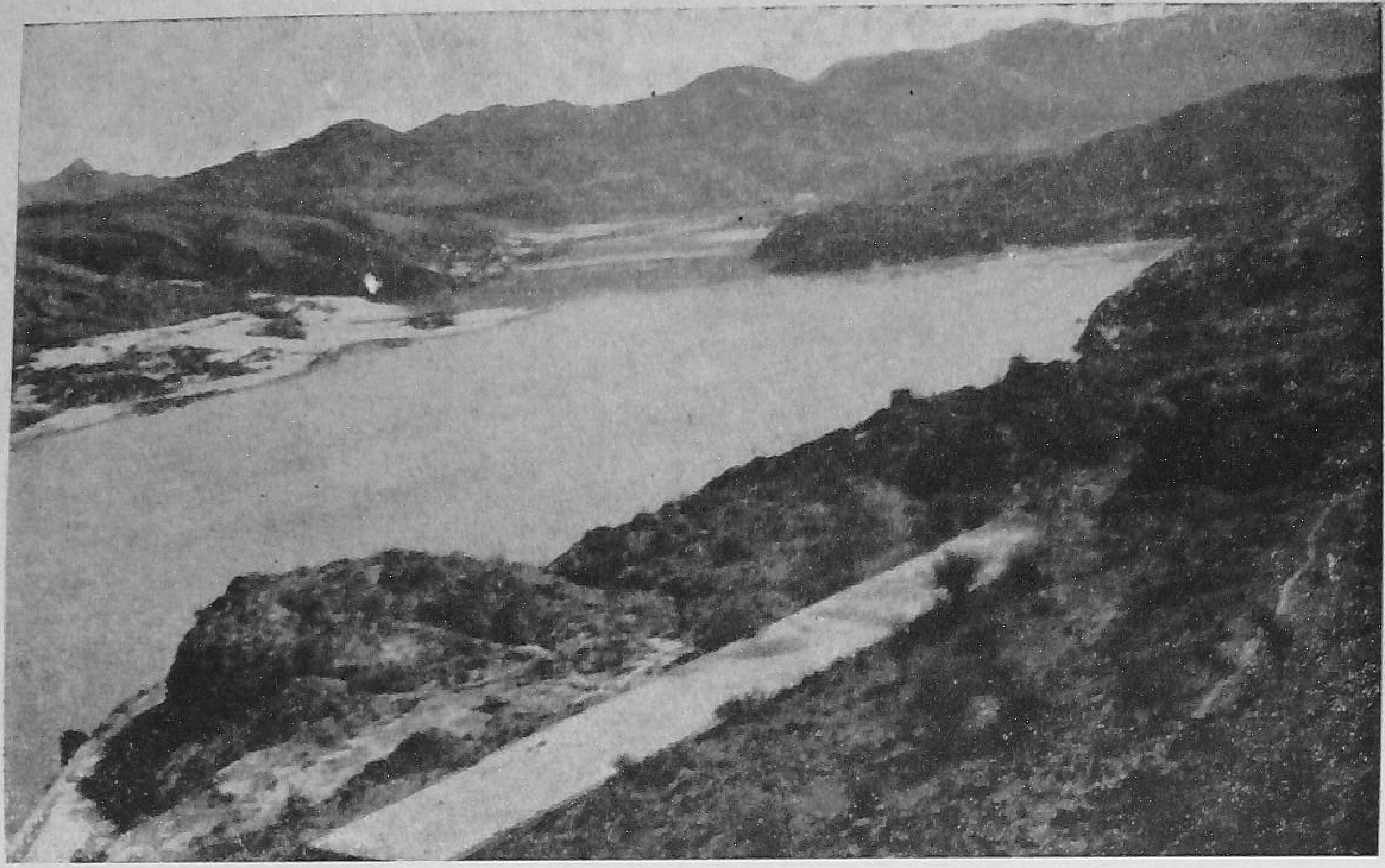
Gandhiji : A true Khudai Khidmatgar won't go to a law court. Fighting in a law court is just like physical fighting. Only, you use force by proxy. To get the police to punish the aggressor is only a form of revenge which a Khudai Khidmatgar must abjure. Let me illustrate my meaning by a personal instance. At Sevagram some Harijans came to me and told me that unless I could get a Harijan included in the C. P. Congress Ministry, they would offer 'Satyagraha' by staging a hunger strike. I knew it was all the doing of a mischief-maker. The Police Superintendent wanted to post some police force as he was afraid that the hooligans might do some mischief. But I said 'no' to him and told the Harijans that they need not sit outside in the sun ; they could occupy any room they liked in the

keep you here as prisoner of our love for at least six months." And everybody laughed heartily at the joke, Gandhiji with the rest. Over a score of little children too had tumbled out of the village to be introduced to Gandhiji and shake hands with him. They walked up to Gandhiji one by one, their Mohmand caps drawn close over their ruddy, cherub faces, took both his hands in theirs and shook them with a grave air of importance in the right Pathan style, not forgetting their familiar "*stirra mashe*" † and conceitedly strutted off like turkey cocks, with an additional air of importance which they had gained in their own eyes!

From Peshawar to Nowshera is an hour's journey by car. The sun shone clear in the sapphire blue sky and the air was agreeably crisp and cool when we started. The rich natural beauty of the lanscape seen through a thin purple haze, the garish panorama of tumbled up masses of hills, said at one time to have been heavily wooded but now bare, torn and wind-swept, that girdled the distant horizon, entranced one. Before the mind's eye rose the vision of the storied past as one contemplated the numerous relics of the Buddhists and Graeco-Bactrian culture with which the whole of the Swat and the Kabul river valleys are thickly strewn. But Gandhiji's mind was wholly occupied with thoughts of the Khudai Khidmatgars. He had undertaken a tremendous responsibility. Here was a body of men, famed throughout the world as the doughtiest of fighters. And now, at the bidding of one man, they had renounced the use of arms and adopted non-violence as their creed. What must he do to convert them into full-fledged soldiers of non-violence for winning India's freedom? Would he succeed?

We reached Nowshera after crossing the Kabul river. There was a big military establishment at Nowshera which, together with the cantonment and air base at Risalpur, served to reinforce the military set-up at Peshawar. Peshawar, being near the border, was not considered

† The Pathan form of greeting meaning 'May you never be tired'.



Kanu Gandhi

THE ROAD TO NOWSHERA
" A thin purple haze, the garish panorama of tumbled up masses of hills."

p. 64.

altogether immune against a possible surprise from the direction of the Khyber Pass which it guarded. At Nowshera, as at Utmanzai and Peshawar, Gandhiji had a meeting with the officers of the Khudai Khidmatgars. In the course of a written address which they presented to him, they thanked him for having given them the weapon of non-violence which was infinitely superior to and more potent than the weapons of steel and brass. They assured Gandhiji that their faith in non-violence was absolute and unqualified as had been amply proved by their conduct during the Civil Disobedience fight and that they would never go back upon it.

"I accept in toto your assurance," said Gandhiji in acknowledging the address, "that you have fully understood the principle of non-violence and that you will hold on to it always. I congratulate you on it, and I further say that if you can put the whole of that doctrine into practice, you will make history. You claim to have one *lakh* Khudai Khidmatgars on your register which exceeds the total number of Congress volunteers as it stands today. You are all pledged to selfless service. You get no monetary allowance. You have even to provide your own uniforms. You are a homogeneous and disciplined body. Badshah Khan's word is law to you. You have proved your capacity to receive blows without retaliation. But this is only the first step in your probation, not the last. To gain India's freedom, the capacity for suffering must go hand in hand with the capacity for ceaseless, selfless labour. A soldier of freedom must incessantly work for the benefit of all."

He then proceeded to describe in detail the difference between a Khudai Khidmatgar and an ordinary soldier in regard to their behaviour and training. "The resemblance between you and the ordinary soldier begins and ends with the cut of the uniform and perhaps the nomenclatures of the ranks which you have adopted. Like the military you have your Colonels and G. O. C.'s. But unlike them the basis of all your activity is not violence but non-violence. Therefore, your training, your preoccupa-

tions, your mode of working, even your thoughts and aspirations must necessarily be different from theirs. A soldier in arms is trained to kill. Even his dreams are about killing. He dreams of fighting, of winning fame and advancement on the battlefield by the prowess of his arms. He has reduced killing to an art. When he is not engaged in fighting he occupies himself with eating, drinking, swearing and making merry in the way he knows. A *satyagrahi*, a Khudai Khidmatgar, on the other hand, would always long for opportunity for silent service. All his time would be given to labour of love. If he dreams, it will not be about killing but about laying down his life to serve others. He has reduced dying innocently and for his fellow-men to an art."

"But what shall be the training that will fit you out for this sort of work?" he next asked, and replied that it must be training in various branches of constructive work.

With one *lakh* Khudai Khidmatgars trained in the science of constructive non-violence, he told them, trans-border raids should become a thing of the past. "You should consider it a matter of utter shame if a single theft or dacoity takes place in your midst. Even the thieves and trans-border raiders are human beings. They commit crime not for the love of the thing itself but because they are driven to it largely by necessity and want. They know no better. The only method of dealing with them that has been adopted so far has been that of force. They are given no quarter and they give none. Dr. Khan Saheb feels helpless against them because the Government has no other way of dealing with them. But you can make a non-violent approach to the problem, and I am sure you will succeed where the Government has failed. You can teach them to live honestly like yourselves by providing them with cottage occupations. You can go in their midst, serve them in their homes and explain to them things in a loving and sympathetic manner, and you will find that they are not unamenable to the argument of love. There are two ways open to you today, the way of brute force that has already been tried and found wanting, and the

way of peace. You seem to have made your final choice. May you prove equal to it."

The halt at Nowshera was only for a couple of hours. We reached Hoti Mardan at evening. Hoti Mardan is the headquarters of the Mardan District. Like Nowshera it also is a cantonment town and owes its strategic importance to the fact that it is the centre of traffic for the tribes inhabiting the adjoining territories of Swat, Buner, Bajaur and Dir.

A note of caution rang through the talk that Gandhiji gave to the Khudai Khidmatgars at Mardan. In reply to his usual question, whether they had fully understood the meaning of non-violence and whether they would remain non-violent under all circumstances, one of them replied that they could put up with every kind of provocation except the abuse of their revered leaders. This gave Gandhiji his cue, and he explained to them that non-violence could not, like the curate's egg, be accepted or rejected in part. It had value only when it was practised in its entirety. " When the sun rises the whole world is filled with its warmth so that even a blind man feels its presence. Similarly when one *lakh* of Khudai Khidmatgars are fully permeated with the spirit of non-violence, it will proclaim itself and everybody will feel its life-giving breath."

He gave a detailed description of the close relations that existed between him and the Pathans in South Africa and a word picture of Pathan characteristics and added, " I know it is difficult, it is no joke for a Pathan to take an affront lying low." The sign, he went on to explain, by which he would judge whether the Khudai Khidmatgars had really assimilated the spirit of non-violence would be that they should have won the hearts of all, including the lowliest and the most helpless, through their loving and selfless service and be able to command their co-operation and obedience not through fear but love. "I have known the Pathans since my South African days. I had the privilege of coming into close and intimate contact with them. Some of them were my clients. They treated me as their friend, philosopher and guide, in whom they could confide freely.

They would even come and confess to me their secret crimes. They were a rough and ready lot. Pastmasters in the art of wielding the *lathi*, inflammable, the first to take part in riots, they held life cheap, and would have killed a human being with no more thought than they would a sheep or a hen. That such men should, at the bidding of one man, have laid down their arms and accepted non-violence as the superior weapon sounds almost like a fairy tale. If the one *lakh* Khudai Khidmatgars became truly non-violent in letter and in spirit and shed their violent past completely as a snake does its outworn skin, it would be nothing short of a miracle. That is why in spite of the assurance of your faith in non-violence that you have given me, I am forced to be cautious and preface my remarks with an 'if'. My diffidence is only a measure of the difficulty of the task. But nothing is too difficult for the brave and I know the Pathans are brave."

He then went on to describe the signs by which he would judge whether the Khudai Khidmatgars had imbibed the spirit of non-violence. "The crucial test by which I shall judge you is this. Have you befriended and won the confidence of each and all in your locality? Do the people regard you with love or with fear? So long as a single individual is afraid of you, you are no true Khudai Khidmatgar. A Khudai Khidmatgar will be gentle in his speech and manner, the light of purity will shine forth from his eyes, so that even a stranger, woman or even a child would instinctively feel that here was a friend, a man of God, who could be implicitly trusted. A Khudai Khidmatgar will command the co-operation of all sections of the community, not the sort of obedience that a Mussolini or a Hitler can command through his unlimited power of coercion, but the willing and spontaneous obedience which is yielded to love alone. This power can be acquired only through ceaseless, loving service, and waiting upon God. When I find that under your influence people are gradually giving up their insanitary habits, the drunkard is being weaned from drink and the criminal from crime and the Khudai Khidmatgars are welcomed every-

where by the people as their natural protectors and friends in need, I shall know that, at last, we have got in our midst a body of men who have really assimilated the spirit of non-violence and the hour of India's deliverance is close at hand."

Throughout these talks with the Khudai Khidmatgars Badshah Khan acted as interpreter, and a finer interpreter Gandhiji could hardly have had or wished for. He did his work with rare devotion and zeal and put his whole soul into it. After explaining to the Khudai Khidmatgars in Pushtu what Gandhiji had said, he uttered the memorable words: "I know it is difficult to curb one's anger altogether. But you have pledged yourselves to it before God. Man is by nature weak but God is all powerful. By yourselves you may fail in your efforts to be completely non-violent but God helping, you will succeed. It may not be all at once. The progress will be slow and there will be set-backs. But each effort will take you a step higher on your path. Do not lose heart." Simple words and straight, that proceeded from the depths of a soul aglow with faith in God and went straight to the hearts of his disciples!

Swabi *Tahsil* constitutes the north-easternmost part of Mardan District from which it is separated by the Kalpani or Chhalpani (literally, the 'deceitful river'). It is one of the strongholds of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. During the Civil Disobedience days, along with Utmanzai it became a storm-centre of the fight which gave occasion for ruthless repression on the one side, and a rare non-violent heroism on the other. Gandhiji's speech here was a passionate appeal to the Khudai Khidmatgars to turn the searchlight inward. In it he propounded the philosophy of courting imprisonment. It was not the going to prison by itself but the moral qualification that lay behind it which constituted the real sanction in Satyagraha. He warned them too that if they could not bear insults and indignities in jail without anger in their hearts, it would be better for them to give up the Khudai Khidmatgars' uniform. They had proved their mettle by marching to

jail in their hundreds and thousands. But that was not enough. Mere filling of the jails would not bring India freedom. "Even thieves and criminals go to prison, but their prison-going has no merit. It is the suffering of the pure and innocent that tells. It is only when the authorities find that the only place where they can keep the purest and most innocent citizens is prison that a change of heart is forced upon them. A *satyagrahi* goes to prison not to embarrass the authorities but to convert them by giving to them an experience of his innocence. You should realize that unless you have developed the moral fitness to go to prison which the law of Satyagraha demands, your jail-going will be useless and will bring you only disappointment at the end. A votary of non-violence must have the capacity to put up with the indignities and hardships of prison life not only without retaliation or anger but with pity in his heart for the perpetrators of those hardships and indignities. I would, therefore, today ask you to examine yourselves in the light of my remarks, and if you find that you cannot or do not want to go the full length, to drop your badge of non-violence and request Badshah Khan to release you from your pledge. That will be a species of heroism. But if you have full faith in the creed of non-violence as I have described it, then know it from me that God will arm you with the required strength in your hour of trial."

And the appeal was not wasted. At the end of the speech, in answer to Badshah Khan's interrogatory, the Khidmatgars said: "We admit we fall short of Mahatmaji's standard of non-violence. We have not been able to banish anger from our hearts. We often lose our temper. Some of the implications of non-violence that Mahatmaji has set before us are new to us. All we can say is that we feel our shortcomings and that we will sincerely strive and spare no effort to overcome them and reach the ideal that has been placed before us."

Gandhiji was pleased at the truthful reply of the Khidmatgars. "Then it is well with us," he remarked as he took leave of them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TWO GANDHIS CONFER

An important stage in Gandhiji's Frontier mission was reached when in his quiet retreat at Utmanzai he devoted two days to confabulate and compare notes with Badshah Khan after his tour of the Khudai Khidmatgars in Peshawar and Mardan Districts.

" What is your impression ? " he asked Badshah Khan. " How do the Khudai Khidmatgars stand with regard to non-violence ? "

" My impression, Mahatmaji," replied Badshah Khan, " is that as they themselves admitted before us, the other day, they are raw recruits and fall short of the standard. There is violence in their hearts which they have not been able altogether to cast out. They have their defects of temper. But there is no doubt as to their sincerity. Given a chance they can be hammered into shape and I think the attempt is worthwhile."

Badshah Khan was dreadfully in earnest. He was convinced that violence had been the bane of his people. It was the deadly canker that was eating into their vitals and was responsible, more than anything else, for their downfall. He reverted to that theme later in the course of a conversation with Gandhiji. He was describing to him the natural beauty and richness of the country around and, as is usual with him on such occasions, was in an ecstacy. But his brow was clouded as he passed on from nature to 'what man unto man has done'. " Mahatmaji, this land, so rich in fruit and grain, might well have been a smiling little Eden upon this earth, but it has today fallen under a blight. My conviction is daily growing deeper that more than anything else, violence has been the bane of us Pathans in this province. It shattered our solidarity and tore us with wretched internal feuds. The

entire strength of the Pathan is today spent in thinking how to cut the throat of his brother. To what fruitful use this energy might not be put, if only we could be rid of this curse!

"Whatever may be the case with other provinces, I am firmly convinced that so far as the Frontier Province is concerned, the non-violence movement is the greatest boon that God has sent to us. There is no other way of salvation for the Pathans except through non-violence. I say this from experience of the miraculous transformation that even the little measure of non-violence that we have attained has wrought in our midst. Mahatmaji, we used to be so timid and indolent. The sight of an Englishman would frighten us. We thought nothing of wasting our time in idleness. Your movement has instilled fresh life into us and made us more industrious so that a piece of land that formerly used to yield hardly ten rupees worth of produce now produces double that amount. We have shed our fear and are no longer afraid of an Englishman or, for the matter of that, of any man."

And he gave an instance of how during the Civil Disobedience days once an English officer accompanied by a body of soldiers had ordered dispersal of a procession of the Red Shirts which they had organized. He had a prohibitory order under section 144 in his pocket but would not show it as he was out to bully. He even tried to snatch away the national flag which a Red Shirt who was heading the procession carried in his hand. But the latter would not surrender it whereupon he grew wild and shouted out the order 'fire' to his soldiers. But he was flabbergasted by the calm determination of the Red Shirts who stood fast where they were, ready to breast the bullets. He had not the courage to proceed further. "Mahatmaji, you should have seen his condition. He could hardly speak. I tried to set him at his ease by telling him that unarmed as we were, he had nothing to fear from us and that if he had only produced the prohibitory order at the outset instead of trying to bear us down by arrogance and stupidly issuing the order to open fire, we

would have gladly dispersed as it was not our intention to break orders. He felt thoroughly crestfallen and ashamed. Englishmen are afraid of our non-violence. A non-violent Pathan, they say, is more dangerous than a violent Pathan.

"If we could assimilate and put into practice the whole of the doctrine of non-violence as you have explained it to us, how much stronger and better off we should be. We were on the brink of utter ruination. But God in His mercy sent us the non-violence movement to save us in our extremity. I tell my people, 'What is the use of your shouting empty slogans about Swaraj? You have already got your Swaraj if you have learnt to shed all fear and to earn an honest, independent living through manual work as shown by Mahatmaji.'"

Gandhiji suggested to Badshah Khan that if non-violence was to receive a fair trial, the Khudai Khidmatgars must be prepared to go through a rigorous course of training in constructive non-violence which he had in mind for them. Badshah Khan had already decided to establish a training centre and home for the Khudai Khidmatgars in the village of Marwandi near Utmanzai. In addition to it, it was decided to start a spinning and weaving centre in Utmanzai itself, where the people at large, who were not necessarily Khudai Khidmatgars, would learn the civilizing and peace-advancing arts of spinning, weaving and the allied processes.

"My idea, Mahatmaji," Badshah Khan explained, "is to make Utmanzai into a model village. The spinning and weaving centre will serve as a sort of permanent exhibition for the education of the villagers. At the home for Khudai Khidmatgars we shall set before us the self-sufficiency ideal. We shall wear only the clothes that we ourselves produce, eat only such fruits and vegetables as we raise there and set up a small dairy to provide us with milk. We shall deny ourselves what we cannot ourselves produce."

"Good," remarked Gandhiji. "May I further suggest that the Khudai Khidmatgars should take their due share

in the building of the huts too that are to house them ?"

"That is our idea," replied Badshah Khan.

To train the first batch of workers, Gandhiji suggested that some Khudai Khidmatgars whom Badshah Khan might select, might be sent to Wardha, where, besides becoming adepts in the science of *khadi*, they would also get a grounding in first-aid and hygiene, sanitation and village uplift work and in Hindustani. They would also be initiated there into the Wardha Scheme of education so that on their return they would be able to take up the work of mass education. "But your work will not make headway unless you take the lead and yourself become an adept in all these things." Badshah Khan agreed. "Lastly," said Gandhiji, "your work will come to nought unless you enforce the rule of punctuality in your retreat. There must be a fixed routine and fixed hours for rising and going to bed, for taking meals and for work and rest, and they must be rigorously enforced. I attach the greatest importance to punctuality ; it is a corollary to non-violence."

They next proceeded to discuss the *modus operandi* by which the Khudai Khidmatgars, when they had become sure of their non-violence, would fulfil their mission of coping with the trans-border raids. Badshah Khan was of the opinion that the task was rendered infinitely difficult by the presence of the police and the military who were not fully under popular control and whose presence there brought in all the evils of double rule. "Either the authorities should whole-heartedly co-operate with us or they should withdraw the police and the military from one district to begin with, and we shall then undertake to maintain the peace of that district through our Khudai Khidmatgars." He was afraid that unless this was done, all their efforts to establish peace would be thwarted.

But Gandhiji held a different view. He remarked, "I frankly confess that I do not expect the authorities wholeheartedly to co-operate with us. They would distrust our ability, if not our motive. It is too much to expect them

to withdraw the police on trust. Non-violence is a universal principle and its operation is not limited by a hostile environment. Indeed its efficacy can be tested only when it acts in the midst of and in spite of opposition. Our non-violence would be a hollow thing and nothing worth, if it depended for its success on the goodwill of the authorities. We can establish full control over the people, we shall render the police and the military innocuous." And he described to Badshah Khan how during the Bombay riots on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit, the police and the military found their job gone because the Congress immediately regained control and peace was restored.*

Badshah Khan : "But the difficulty is that the raiders are mostly bad characters, who have absconded from British India. We cannot make contact with them because the authorities won't permit us or our workers to go into the tribal territory."

Gandhiji : "They must, and I tell you they will when we are fully ready. But for that we shall need to have a body of Khudai Khidmatgars who are really and truly servants of God, with whom non-violence is a living faith. Non-violence is an active principle of the highest order. It is soul force or the power of the Godhead within us. Imperfect man cannot grasp the whole of that Essence — he would not be able to bear its full blaze — but even an infinitesimal fraction of it when it becomes active within us, can work wonders. The sun in the heavens fills the whole universe with its life-giving warmth. But if one went too near it, it would consume him to ashes. Even so, it is with the Godhead. We become Godlike to the

* In 1921 riots broke out in Bombay on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit, which the Indian National Congress had boycotted in pursuance of the programme of non-violent non-co-operation. They took a communal complexion when the Parsees refused to join in the boycott. Gandhiji, who was in Bombay at that time, instead of invoking the aid of the police or the military to restore peace, declared a limitless fast. As a result, peace returned to the city when he had fasted for three days.

extent we realize non-violence; but we can never become wholly God. Non-violence is like radium in its action. An infinitesimal quantity of it imbedded in a malignant growth, acts continuously, silently and ceaselessly till it has transformed the whole mass of the diseased tissue into a healthy one. Similarly, even a tiny grain of true non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leavens the whole society.

"It is self-acting. The soul persists even after death. Its existence does not depend on the physical body. Similarly, non-violence or soul force, too, does not need physical aids for its propagation or effect. It acts independently of them. It transcends time and space.

"It follows, therefore, that if non-violence becomes successfully established in one place, its influence will spread everywhere. So long as a single dacoity takes place in Utmanzai, I shall say that our non-violence is not genuine.

"The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence rests is that what holds good in respect of yourself holds good equally in respect of the whole universe. All mankind in essence is alike. What is, therefore, possible for me is possible for everybody. Pursuing further this line of reasoning, I came to the conclusion that if I could find a non-violent solution of the various problems that arise in one particular village, the lesson learnt from it would enable me to tackle in a non-violent manner all similar problems in India.

"And so I decided to settle down in Sevagram. My sojourn in Sevagram has been an education for me. My experience with the Harijans has provided me with what I regard as an ideal solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem, which does away with all pacts. So if you can set things right in Utmanzai your whole problem would be solved. Even our relations with the English will be transformed and purified if we can show to them that we really do not stand in need of the protection for which their police and the army are ostensibly kept."

But Badshah Khan had a doubt. In every village there is an element of self-seekers and exploiters who are ready to go to any length in order to serve their selfish ends. Could one proceed by ignoring them altogether or should an attempt be made to cultivate them too?

"We may ultimately have to leave some of them out," replied Gandhiji, "but we may not regard anybody as irreclaimable. We should try to understand the psychology of the evil-doer. He is very often victim of his circumstances. By patience and sympathy, we shall be able to win over at least some of them to the side of justice. Moreover, we should not forget that even evil is sustained through the co-operation, either willing or forced, of good. Truth alone is self-sustained. In the last resort we can curb the power of the evil-doers to do mischief, by withdrawing all co-operation from them and completely isolating them.

"This in essence is the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. It follows, therefore, that it must have its root in love. Its object should not be to punish the opponent or to inflict injury upon him. Even while non-co-operating with him, we must make him feel that in us he has a friend and we should try to reach his heart by rendering him humanitarian service whenever possible. In fact it is the acid test of non-violence that a non-violent conflict leaves no rancour behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends. That was my experience in South Africa with General Smuts. He started by being my bitterest opponent and critic. Today he is my warmest friend. For eight years we were ranged on opposite sides. But during the Second Round Table Conference, it was he * who stood by me and, in public as well as in private, gave me his full support. This is only one instance out of many that I can quote.

"Times change and systems decay. But it is my faith that in the result it is only non-violence and things

* General Smuts happened to be present in London at that time in connection with the Faraday Centenary celebrations over which he presided.

that are based on non-violence that will endure. Nineteen hundred years ago Christianity was born. The ministry of Jesus lasted only for three brief years. His teaching was misunderstood even during his own time, and today's Christianity is a denial of his central teaching — "Love your enemy". But what are nineteen hundred years for the spread of the central doctrine of a man's teaching?

"Six centuries rolled by and Islam appeared on the scene. Many Mussulmans will not even allow me to say that Islam, as the word implies, is unadulterated peace. My reading of the Quran has convinced me that the basis of Islam is not violence. But here again thirteen hundred years are but a speck in the cycle of Time. I am convinced that both these great Faiths will live only to the extent to which their followers imbibe the central teaching of non-violence. But it is not a thing to be grasped through mere intellect; it must sink into our hearts."

CHAPTER IX

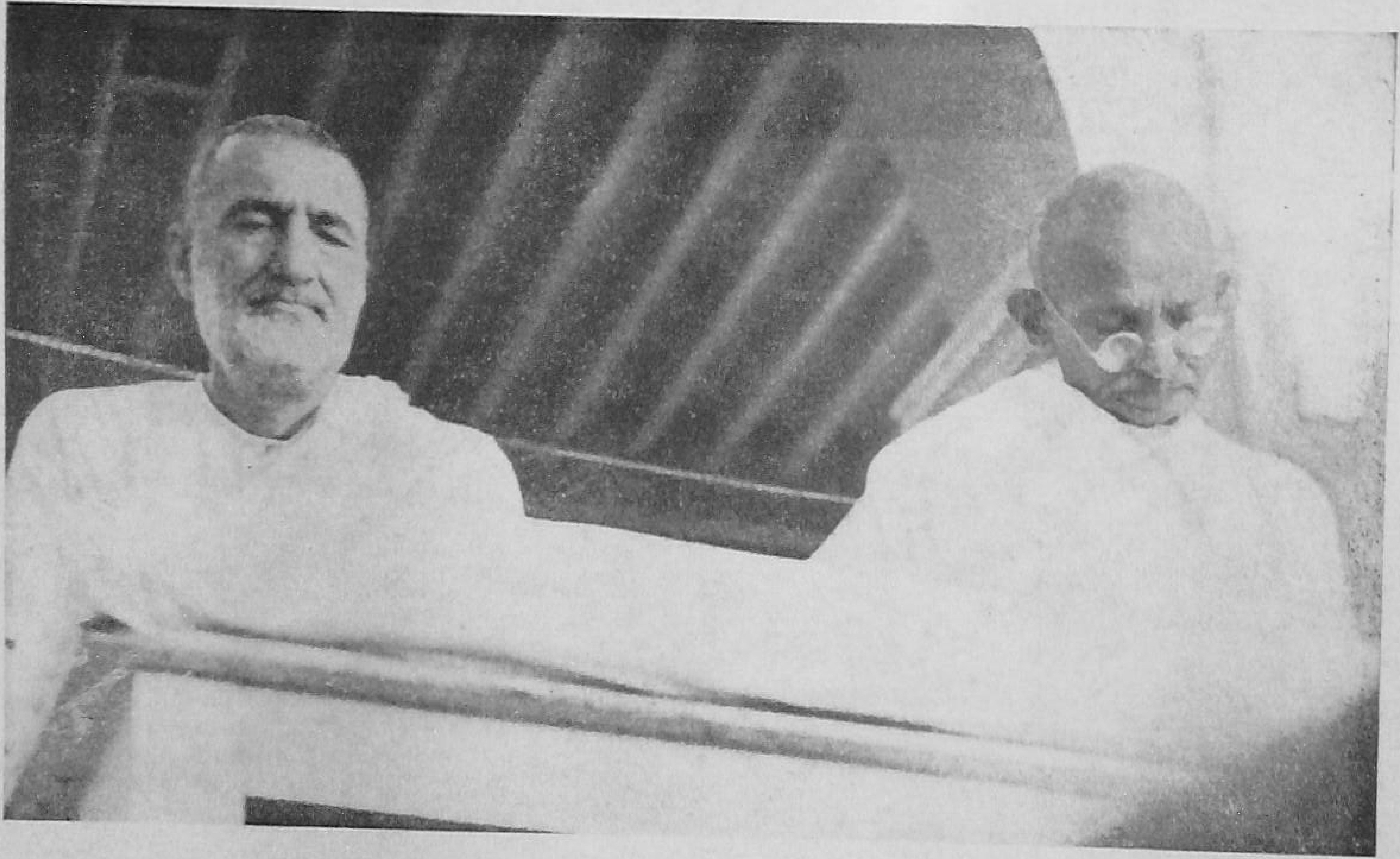
IN THE MONTH OF RAMZAN

After a brief interlude of rest at Utmanzai during which Gandhiji was engaged in hammering out, in collaboration with Badshah Khan, a plan for the reorientation of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the light of non-violence which he had been explaining, Gandhiji resumed his tour of the Frontier Province. The following week was devoted to a strenuous programme in the Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts. Distances to be covered every day grew longer, the motor runs more fatiguing and the crowds noisier, more unwieldy and less disciplined as we moved away and southwards from the purely Pushtu-speaking Districts of Peshawar and Mardan, 'Red Shirt Districts' as they are sometimes called owing to the greater concentration of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement there. To this was added the strain of public meetings. They had to be addressed in all the places visited ; and although Gandhiji would have preferred to reserve his speeches exclusively for Khudai Khidmatgar gatherings, he had to yield to Badshah Khan's pressure and relax his rule. A heavy round of deputations at Kohat and Bannu completed the measure. But thanks to the salubrious climate of the Frontier Province at that time of the year and still more to Badshah Khan's unfailing care, Gandhiji was able to pull through all that unscathed and continued to keep fit.

The month of Ramzan had set in. To spare Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars the strain of conducting the tour during the Ramzan fast, Gandhiji had suggested that the tour programme might be curtailed or its pace accelerated. But Badshah Khan would not hear of it, and he and his team of the Khudai Khidmatgars continued to perform their exacting duties as unremittingly as ever, the fast notwithstanding. At Utmanzai he turned his entire

household inside out to cater to the comfort of Gandhiji. He drove his son into what was obviously intended to be the servants' quarters and himself slept wherever he could. His eye was never off Gandhiji and he kept constant vigil over him as a mother lion does over her little cub. One should have seen him move about with soft, cautious steps to see that everything was all right while Gandhiji slept. Now he would gently adjust over Gandhiji the cloth that had slipped off, or with his kerchief whisk off flies when no one was near, and then as unobtrusively glide out of the room when somebody turned up to take his place. He ransacked the fruit orchards of friends and neighbours to fetch for Gandhiji the pick of the fruit. It was a sight when one fine morning, he quietly slipped out of the house and returned after several hours with a big bunch of early grapes which he served to Gandhiji with his own hands! It transpired afterwards that he had gone out to pay a casual visit to the chief of the Khudai Khidmatgars at the latter's residence, some two or three miles from Utmanzai, where his constant concern for Gandhiji led him to spot out that prize bunch hidden among the vine clusters! This was just an instance of the delicate attention with which he surrounded Gandhiji. Before leaving for Kohat he decided to have a busful of his seasoned Khudai Khidmatgars to accompany Gandhiji during the rest of the tour.

Kohat District lies in the heart of the North West Frontier Province. The town and cantonment of Kohat which occupy the western portion of the Kohat *tahsil* are forty miles drive from Peshawar, part of the road lying through the independent territory of the Pass Afridis. The Kohat Pass is not so long as the Khyber. The Khyber has been variously termed "murderous high road", "boulevard of sudden death" and so on. The sinister silence of its narrow defiles strikes one with awe. It is always the Khyber, "bold, bloody and untamed, unbeaten, triumphant and above all unpredictable". The Kohat Pass is more rugged, more inspiring for its savage beauty and



Hindustan Times

GANDHIJI AND BADSHAH KHAN AT PRAYER
"He refers all his problems to God."
p. 41.

looks less sinister than the Khyber. Its pinnacles are higher, its rocks red, white and black, bathed in sunlight, more pleasing to the eye, while the magnificent prospect of richly cultivated valleys dotted with lovely little adobe huts that spread out below like a picture touched with amethyst and gold, once beheld, can never be forgotten.

Badshah Khan was in raptures, intoxicated with the keen mountain air and the ravishing beauty of the landscape. He would not suffer any one to remain apathetic in the presence of such natural grandeur. All of a sudden he exclaimed, "Look, there is the nidus of Ajab Khan," as he pointed out a neat, little mud hut in the valley below. "Ajab Khan, the adbuctor of Mollie Ellis,* notorious outlaw, who paid the penalty for his long dossier of crimes on a frontier gallows?" I asked, mechanically repeating remarks which I had picked up from MacMunn. Badshah Khan laughed. "Dead! Hanged! Why, he is still alive and settled somewhere on the border of Turkistan. And he was no scoundrel either." And with that he told the whole story of the outlaw as attested to by eye-witnesses, who personally knew all the parties concerned. The story may or may not be true in every detail, but it was universally believed to be authentic by the Frontier Pathans, who held Ajab Khan to be guiltless of Mrs. Ellis' blood, and Badshah Khan sincerely shared that conviction. Ajab Khan was what one might call "a gun runner", a trafficker in unlicensed arms. His house was raided by Major B........of the British Army. "You may do whatever else you like," he warned the search officer, "but if you enter the *zeňana*, or touch the womenfolk, there will be a score to settle." The officer laughed and rudely proceeded to unveil the ladies in the

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* Daughter of Col. Ellis and Mrs. Ellis was abducted by Ajab Khan and his men as vendetta against an alleged affront to the ladies of Ajab Khan's family. Mrs. Ellis was murdered at the same time. Mollie Ellis was later contacted by Mrs. Starr, the widow of Dr. Starr, and recovered with the help of some local *Maliks* (tribal chiefs).

zenana. The outlaw proved as good as his word. He settled the score in the only way known to Pathans. Automatically, I remembered the remarks of a well-known writer on the Frontier tribes: "In this country a blow to a man, an insult to a woman, has only one result—death. Under no condition is there any reprieve........ If a man comes across his enemy asleep or sick that does not save him........A blood-feud never ends." I repeated the words to Badshah Khan; Bhadshah Khan went on: "And how did Ajab Khan treat Miss Ellis while she was in his custody? Ask anybody, she herself attested to it. No white man in Ajab Khan's place would have respected her honour more."

The programme at Kohat was a crowded one and left little time for paying a visit to its famous hot and cold springs, or to do more than passing justice to the lovely mountains by which the city is begirt. Numerous deputations met Gandhiji in the course of the day. There was the deputation on behalf of the Kohat Loan Relief Committee. They wanted the loans granted for the relief of victims of arson and loot during the communal outbreaks of 1924 to be written off according to the oft-repeated promises. There was another deputation on behalf of the cultivators who stated their grievance about the '*terig* dues', still another deputation on behalf of the Harijans and yet another from the Sikhs. There was besides a whole sheet of written complaints and appeals which various people had placed in his hands "to be conveyed to the Prime Minister". Gandhiji, whilst assuring them of his sympathy, told them that he would discuss all those matters with the Prime Minister on returning to Peshawar.

A public meeting was held in the evening at a lovely spot outside the city overlooked by a natural amphitheatre of hills that engirdled the city almost completely. Gandhiji was presented with an address by the District Congress Committee on behalf of the citizens of Kohat. Referring to the various representations that he had received in the course of the day, Gandhiji in his reply to the address

said, "I have given more than an hour today to acquaint myself with your difficulties and woes. But I confess to you that I am no longer fit to tackle such matters. While on the one hand, old age is slowly creeping upon me, on the other my responsibilities are becoming more and more multifarious and there is the danger that if I have too many irons in the fire, I may not be able to do justice to the more important of my responsibilities. Among these, the responsibility that I have undertaken in respect of the Khudai Khidmatgars is the most important. If I can discharge it to my satisfaction, in collaboration with Badshah Khan, I shall feel that my closing years have not been wasted.

"People laugh at me and at the idea of Khudai Khidmatgars' becoming full-fledged non-violent soldiers of Swaraj. But their mockery does not affect me. Non-violence is a quality not of the body but of the soul. Once its central meaning sinks into your being, all the rest follows by itself. Human nature in the Khudai Khidmatgars is not different from mine. And I am sure that if I can practise non-violence to some extent, they and for that matter any one can. I therefore invite you to pray with me to the Almighty that He may make real my dream about the Kudhai Khidmatgars."

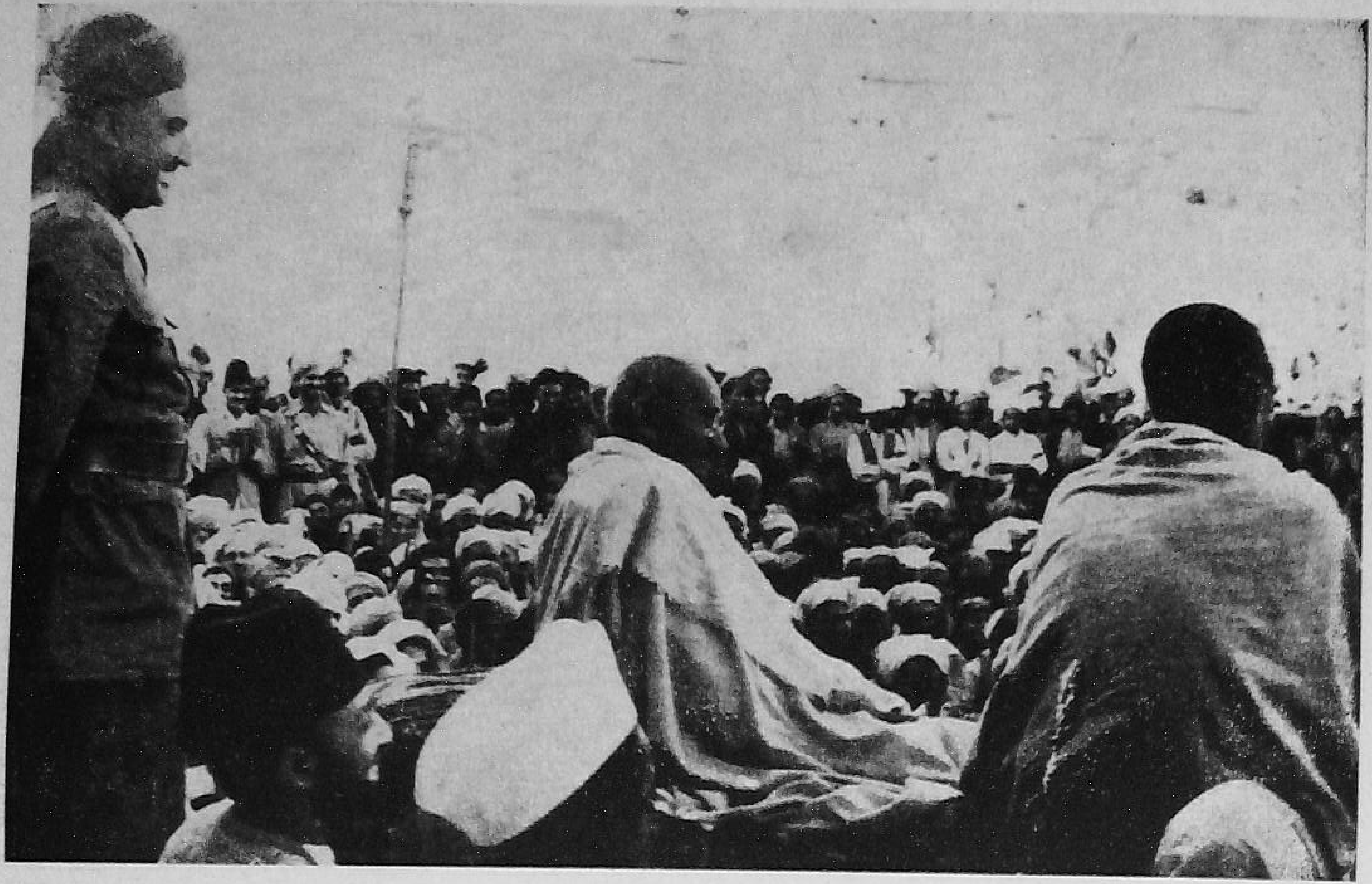
One of the most difficult problems of Gandhiji was to bring home to the warlike Pathans the significance of constructive work in terms of non-violence and how it could be made dynamic. In Civil Disobedience there was at least the element of defiance to provide kudos. But constructive work was to them like green meat to a panther. Gandhiji, therefore, gave a series of addresses to elucidate the relation between constructive work and the power of non-violence.

In the course of his talk before the Khudai Khidmatgar officers at Kohat, he impressed upon them the tremendous nature of the step which they had taken. He had often said before that if the Pathan, famed in the world for the prowess of his arms, really took to non-violence,

renouncing arms, it would be a red letter day in the history of India and the world. "For good or for ill, the Pathan today has come to be regarded as a bogey-man by the average person in India. In Gujarat and Kathiawad children turn pale at the very mention of the Pathan. At Sabarmati Ashram, we try to inculcate fearlessness among the children. But I am ashamed to confess that in spite of all our efforts we have not succeeded in making them eradicate the fear of the Pathan from their hearts. I have not been able to impress upon our Ashram girls that they have no need to fear a Pathan. They try to make a show of bravery. But it is only a make-believe. During a communal disturbance they dare not stir out of their homes if there is a report of even a casual Pathan being about. They are afraid they would be kidnapped.

"I tell them that even if they are kidnapped they must not be frightened. They should appeal to the kidnapper's sense of honour to behave chivalrously towards one who should be as a sister to him. If in spite of their entreaties he persists in his evil intentions, (since all must die some day), they can put an end to their life by biting the tongue but not submit. They answer, 'What you say is right. But it is all new to us. We have not the confidence that at the proper time we shall be able to do what you tell us.' If such is the case with the Ashram girls, what must it be with others? When, therefore, I hear that a body of Khidmatgars has arisen among the Pathans, who have completely renounced violence, I do not know whether to believe it or not."

"What are the implications of renouncing violence and what is the mark of a person who has renounced violence?" he next asked. One did not become a Khudai Khidmatgar by adopting that name or by putting on the Khudai Khidmatgar's uniform, he told them. It needed systematic training in non-violence. In Europe where they had glorified killing into a noble profession they spent millions on perfecting the science of destruction. Their best scientists were pressed into its service. Even their educational system was centred on it. They spent



Kanu Gandhi

A POSER AT A PATHAN GATHERING
"Where is your promised independence?"
p. 138.

stupendous sums too on luxuries and means of physical comforts, which formed a part of their ideal. By contrast, the mark of a man of God or a Khudai Khidmatgar should be purity, industry, and unremitting hard labour in the service of God's creation. "In the course of serving your fellow creatures you will get a measure of the progress you have made in non-violence and of the power that is in non-violence. Armed with this power, a single person can stand against the whole world. That is not possible with the sword."

Hitherto, non-violence had been synonymous with civil breach of laws and taking the penalty for the same non-violently. But he wished to tell them that, although Civil Disobedience was included in the programme of non-violence, its essence, as he had pointed out at Swabi, was the moral right or fitness which it presupposed in the civil resister and which accrued to one who trained himself in the practice of non-violence. In Satyagraha fight "Civil Disobedience is the end, not the beginning. It is the last step, not the first." People used to have a craven fear of the Government. As a remedy, he had prescribed Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It was a sharp medicine. "Unless a physician, who administers powerful drugs, knows exactly when to stop, he loses his patient. That is why I promptly called off Civil Disobedience, confining it to myself alone when the situation demanded it.* It was just in time. So I would like you, for the time being, to forget Civil Disobedience."

He next proceeded to explain that service of God could only be performed through service of His creatures. He

* In April, 1934, Gandhiji advised all Congressmen to suspend Civil Disobedience for Swaraj as distinguished from Civil Disobedience for specific grievances. The decision resulted from the discovery that civil resistance had not touched the hearts either of the terrorists or of the rulers as a class owing to the "adulteration" of its message in the process of transmission. Thereafter, Civil Disobedience, for achieving Swaraj, was to be confined to himself alone, the rank and file were to resume it during his life-time only under his directions and in the meantime to devote their time to self-purification, self-discipline and nation-building activities.

had made it his habit to try to see always the hand of God in everything even at the risk of being considered superstitious. Thus, he saw the hand of God in the name that Badshah Khan had given them. Badshah Khan had not called them *Satyagrahis* but Servants of God.

"But how to serve God since He is incorporate and needs no personal service? We can serve Him by serving His creation. There is an Urdu verse which says: 'Man can never be God but in essence he is not different from Divinity.' Let us make our village our universe. We shall then serve God by serving our village. To relieve the distress of the unemployed by providing them work, to tend the sick, to wean people from their insanitary habits, to educate them in cleanliness and healthy living should be the job of a Khudai Khidmatgar. And since whatever he does is in God's service, his service will be performed with far more diligence and care than that of paid workers."

He ended by giving a few practical hints as to how to cultivate non-violent strength. "A Khudai Khidmatgar will keep a strict account of every minute of his time which he will regard as God's trust. To waste a single moment of one's time in idleness or frivolity is a sin against God. It is on a par with stealing. If there is even a tiny little bit of land available, he will occupy himself with growing something on it — food or vegetables for the destitute and needy. If he should feel inclined to sit idle and do nothing because his parents have enough money to enable him to purchase food and vegetables from the bazar, he will argue to himself that by drawing upon the bazar supplies, he deprives the poor of the same and steals what belongs to God. Before he purchases or uses anything, a Khudai Khidmatgar will ask himself whether there is not somebody else whose need may be greater than his. Supposing somebody places a sumptuous dish before him and a starving person appears on the scene, he will think of the latter's need first, feed him and then alone partake of the dish."

Twenty-six miles to the west of Kohat, as the road goes, is Hungoo, the headquarters of the *tahsil* of that name. Gandhiji visited it on the following day. The weather was glorious and the distant mountains shone bright and clear through the dry transparent air. The hillsides, mostly composed of red rubble, were overgrown with scrub and alive with countless herds of goats and fat-tailed sheep that were scattered as far as the eye could reach and filled the air with their plaintive bleating. At Hungoo there was a public meeting and an address. In the address there was a remark that the Frontier Province held the key to India's freedom. Gandhiji in his speech while agreeing with that remark added that in the Frontier Province again the Khudai Khidmatgars held the key. "Even as the rose fills with its sweet fragrance all the air around, when one *lakh* Khudai Khidmatgars become truly non-violent, their fragrance will permeate the entire length and breadth of the country and cure the evil of slavery with which we are afflicted."

At Hungoo, as at Kohat, Gandhiji gave important talks to the Khudai Khidmatgars in which he explained to them in minute detail the inner nature, working and quality of non-violence and the way in which a beginning could be made for developing it in the individual.

He referred to an address of welcome that had been presented to him at Nasarat Khel on the way, at the foundation laying ceremony of the Khudai Khidmatgars' office. In it there was a reference to "our last struggle". "Let me tell you," he remarked, "that Civil Disobedience may come and go, but our non-violent struggle for freedom goes on and will continue till Independence is attained. Only the form has changed."

The other thing mentioned in that address was that the Khudai Khidmatgars had not been cowed down by repression and never would be. "I know," said Gandhiji, "that to 90 per cent Indians, non-violence means that and nothing else. It is good so far. There is bravery in it. But you and particularly the Khudai Khidmatgar officers must clearly understand that this is not the whole

of non-violence. If you have really understood the meaning of non-violence, it should be clear to you that non-violence is not a principle or a virtue to be brought into play on a particular occasion or to be practised with reference to a particular party or section. It has to become a part and parcel of our being. Anger should disappear from our hearts altogether, otherwise what is the difference between ourselves and our oppressors? Anger may lead one person to issue an order to open fire, another to use abusive language, a third one to use the *lathi*. At root it is all the same. It is only when you have become incapable of feeling or harbouring anger in your hearts that you can claim to have shed violence or can expect to remain non-violent to the end."

He then proceeded to explain the difference between Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha. "Our Civil Disobedience or non-co-operation, by its very nature, was not meant to be practised for all time. But the fight which we are today putting up through our constructive non-violence has a validity for all time; it is the real thing. Supposing the Government were to cease to arrest civil resisters, our jail going would then stop but that would not mean that our fight is over. A civil resister does not go to jail to embarrass the jail authorities by indulging in the breach of jail rules. Of course, there can be Civil Disobedience in jail too. But there are definite rules for it. The point is that the civil resister's fight does not end with his imprisonment. Once we are inside the prison we become civilly dead so far as the outside world is concerned. But inside the prison our fight to convert the hearts of the Government's bond slaves, i.e., the jail officials, just begins. It gives us a chance of demonstrating to them that we are not like thieves or dacoits, that we wish them no ill, nor do we want to destroy the opponent but want only to make him our friend, not by servilely obeying all orders, just or unjust — that is not the way to win true friendship — but by showing them that there is no evil in us, that we sincerely wish them well and in our hearts pray that God's goodness may be upon them.

My fight continued even when I was lodged behind prison bars. I have been several times in prison and every time I have left only friends behind in the jail officials and others with whom I have come in contact.

"It is a speciality of non-violence that its action never stops. That cannot be said of the sword or the bullet. The bullet can destroy the enemy ; non-violence converts the enemy into a friend and thus enables the civil resister to assimilate to himself the latter's strength."

By their Civil Disobedience struggle, he continued, they had demonstrated to the world their determination no longer to be ruled by the British. But they had now to give proof of valour of another and higher type. During the Khilafat days tall, hefty Pathan soldiers used to come and meet the Ali Brothers and himself secretly. They used to tremble at the thought of their visit being discovered by their superior officers and resulting in their dismissal from service. In spite of their tall stature and physical strength they used to cower and become servile when confronted by a person physically stronger than they. "I want strength which will enable me to submit to none but God, my sole Lord and Master. It is only when I can do that that I can claim to have realized non-violence."

He then proceeded to expatiate on another speciality of non-violence, viz., one need not go to a school or a *pir* * or a *guru* to learn its use. Its virtue lay in its simplicity. If they realized that it was the most active principle that worked all the twenty-four hours without rest or remission, they would look for opportunities for its application in their homes, in the streets, in relation to their foes no less than friends. They could begin to practise it in their homes from that very day. He had disciplined himself sufficiently never to feel angry with the enemy, but he confessed that he sometimes lost temper with friends. Such discipline in non-violence as he had, he told them, he had at home from his wife. And with that he unfolded in poignant detail a chapter of his domestic

* A Muslim spiritual teacher.

life. He used to be a tyrant at home, he said. His tyranny was the tyranny of love. "I used to let loose my anger upon her. But she bore it all meekly and uncomplainingly. I had a notion that it was her duty to obey me, her lord and master, in everything. But her unresisting meekness opened my eyes and slowly it began to dawn upon me that I had no such prescriptive right over her. If I wanted her obedience, I had first to persuade her by patient argument. She thus became my teacher in non-violence. And I dare say, I have not had a more loyal and faithful comrade in life. I literally used to make life a hell for her. Every other day I would change my residence, prescribe what dress she was to wear. She had been brought up in an orthodox family where untouchability was observed. Muslims and untouchables used to frequent our house. I made her serve them all regardless of her innate reluctance. But she never said 'no'. She was not educated in the usual sense of the term and was simple and unsophisticated. Her guileless simplicity conquered me completely."

"You have all wives, mothers and sisters at home," continued Gandhiji. "You can take the lesson of non-violence from them. You must besides take the vow of truth, ask yourselves how dear truth is to you and how far you observe it in thought, word and deed. A person who is not truthful is far away from non-violence. Untruth itself is violence."

Referring to the month of Ramzan that had just set in, he told them how it could be used to make a start in non-violence. "We seem to think that the observance of Ramzan begins and ends with abstention from food and drink. We think nothing of losing temper over trifles or indulging in abuse during the sacred month of Ramzan. If there is the slightest delay in serving the repast at the time of the breaking of the fast, the poor wife is hauled over live coals. I do not call it observing the Ramzan, but its travesty. If you really want to cultivate non-violence, you should take a pledge that come what may, you will not give way to anger or order about members of

your household or lord it over them. You can thus utilize trifling little occasions in everyday life to cultivate non-violence in your own person and teach it to your children."

He took another instance. Suppose somebody hit their child with a stone. Usually the Pathan tells his child not to return home to whine but to answer back with a bigger stone. But a votary of non-violence, said Gandhiji, would tell his child not to meet a stone by a stone but by embracing the boy who threw the stone and making friends with him. "The same formula, i. e., to banish anger completely from the heart and to make everybody into one's friend, is indeed enough to win India her Independence," he concluded. "It is the surest and the quickest way, too, and it is my claim that for winning Independence for the poor masses of India, it is the only way."

CHAPTER X

"THE WILD VALLEY" OF BANNU

Bannu was reached after an eighty miles' motor drive. In all important villages on the way people had erected arches of green plantain stems and tree leaves and beflagged the approaches to the villages to accord Gandhiji a welcome. For eight miles on this side of Bannu Red Shirts posted at regular intervals interspersed with knots of Waziris, Bhittanis and Orakzais, lined the route. Their flowing robes, loose baggy pyjamas, camels and native matchlocks which they carried on their shoulders lent a bizarre effect to the reception which was enlivened by the playing of *surnais* and the beating of drums.

Bannu is a walled town. It was still under the shadow of a recent raid which, by the peculiar circumstances accompanying it, had at that time startled the whole of India. A party of raiders numbering between 100 and 250 had marched one evening at about 7-30 p.m. into the city through one of the city gates, which they either forced or got opened by the sentries on duty. They looted shops while the town was still awake, fired joy shots, smashing municipal electric lamps as they advanced, and set a number of shops on fire. Yet, strange to say, they met with no resistance from the police and made their exit as openly as they had come in, carrying away with them booty which was variously estimated at one to over three *lakhs* of rupees. Several people were killed during the raid.

According to an official statement, 22 raids by tribes on the North-Western Frontier had occurred in Bannu and other places in British Indian territory during the three months preceding this raid. Thirteen Hindus and Muslims had been killed. The value of cash and property looted amounted to Rs. 1,33,830. Following upon the raid, about a dozen Hindus had been kidnapped.

Kanu Gandhi

THE ANSWER
"Hindus and Muslims can write their own history by being correct in their mutual dealings."

p. 108.

In the course of the day, Gandhiji was met by a deputation on behalf of the Citizens' Defence Committee and another on behalf of the Sufferers' Relief Committee. A group of Waziri tribesmen and some of the bereaved relations of kidnapped persons from Pahar Khel and Jhandu Khel also met him and narrated to him their tales of woe. One of them had his wife killed and a near relation kidnapped ; another had his mother and uncle carried away by the raiders who demanded heavy ransom which he was unable to pay. A glimpse of the consternation under which the people of Bannu seemed perpetually to live was afforded at the public meeting that was held to present Gandhiji with an address of welcome. The loudspeaker went out of order. Thereupon Gandhiji asked the people who were far away from the dais to move a little nearer. This gave rise to a mild rush which in its turn caused a stampede among the women who mistook the harmless rush for a danger signal !

Gandhiji's speech was his weightiest public utterance during the tour. In it he gave his considered opinion on the various alternative remedies for the trans-border raids and presented his prescription of non-violent approach as the only sure and permanent remedy.

" The recent raid of Bannu and the happenings during the raid have touched me deeply," he began. " This province is peculiarly placed and is different from the other provinces inasmuch as, on one side, it is bounded by a number of border tribes containing men whose profession is raiding. So far as I have been able to know they are not actuated by communal considerations. The raiders' motive seems to be satisfaction of primary needs. That the Hindus are more often their victims is probably due to the fact that they generally possess more money. The kidnappings too appear to have the same motive.

" Continuation of the raids is in my opinion a proof of British failure in this part of India. Their Frontier policy has cost the country crores of rupees, and thousands of lives have been sacrificed. The brave tribesmen still

remain unsubdued. If all the accounts I have heard today are substantially correct, and I believe they are, life and property are not secure in most parts of this province.

" A number of people whose relations or dear ones have either been killed or kidnapped and held to ransom by the raiders, saw me today. As I listened to the harrowing tales of distress, my heart went out to them in sympathy. But I must confess to you that with all the will in the world, I possess no magic spell by which I could restore them to their families. Nor should you expect much from the Government or the Congress Ministry. No Government can afford, and the present British Government lacks even the will, to mobilize its military resources every time one of its subjects is kidnapped, unless the person kidnapped happens to belong to the ruling race.

" After studying all the facts, I have gained the impression that the situation in respect of border raids has grown worse since the inauguration of Congress Government. The Congress Ministers have no effective control over the police, none over the military. The Congress Ministry in this province has less than the others. I therefore feel that unless Dr. Khan Saheb can cope with the question of the raids, it might be better for him to tender his designation. There is danger of the Congress losing its prestige in this province if the raids continue to increase. Apart from my opinion, you have to say for yourselves whether in spite of the handicaps I have mentioned, you would rather have the Congress Ministry or some other. After all, the Prime Minister is your servant. He holds office under the triple sufferance of his electorate, the Provincial Congress Committee and the Working Committee.

" Some of those who met me today asked me if they could seek safety by migrating from the Frontier Province. I have told them that migration is a perfectly legitimate course to adopt when there is no other way of living with safety and honour. A complaint has further been brought to me that the Muslim populations in

the affected places no longer give help against the raiders, as they used to formerly, before certain sections of the Frontier Crimes Regulation Act were repealed, and that has encouraged the raiders. While that may be true, let me warn you that if you depend for your protection on the armed assistance of others you must be prepared, sooner or later, to accept the domination of these defenders. Of course, you are entitled to learn the art of defending yourselves with arms. You must develop a sense of co-operation. In no case should you be guilty of cowardice. Self-defence is everybody's birth-right. I do not want to see a single coward in India.

"The fourth alternative is that of non-violent approach, which I am here before you to suggest. It is the surest and infallible method of self-defence. If I had my way, I would go and mix with the tribes and argue it out with them and I am sure they won't be impervious to the argument of love and reason. But I know, today that door is shut to me. The Government won't permit me to enter the tribal territory.

"The tribesman cannot be the bogey-man that he is represented to be. He is a human being just like you and me and capable of responding to the human touch which has hitherto been conspicuous by its absence in dealing with them. A number of Waziris came and saw me today at noon. I did not find that their nature was essentially different from human nature elsewhere.

"Man's nature is not essentially evil. Brute nature has been known to yield to the influence of love. You must never despair of human nature. You are a community of traders. Do not leave out of your traffic that noblest and most precious of merchandise, viz., love. Give to the tribesmen all the love that you are capable of, and you will have theirs in return.

"To seek safety by offering blackmail or ransom to the raiders would be a direct invitation to them to repeat their depredations and would be demoralizing alike to the giver and the tribesmen. Instead of offering them money, the rational course would be to raise them above penury

by teaching them industry and thereby removing the principal motive that leads them into the raiding habit.

"I am having talks with Khudai Khidmatgars in this connection and evolving a plan in collaboration with Badshah Khan. If the plan bears fruit, and the Khudai Khidmatgars truly become what their name signifies, the influence of their example, like the sweet fragrance of the rose, will spread to the tribes and might provide a permanent solution of the Frontier question."

Before leaving Bannu Gandhiji allowed himself to be taken to the site of the recent raid. In the course of our brief visit several facts were brought to his attention. From what one saw and heard, it was clear that the raid could have been aborted if there had been the slightest wish on the part of the officers immediately concerned. They had notice of the coming raid. The raiders were practically under observation all the time. Why the raid was allowed to run its full course is a mystery.

But the reader should have some knowledge of the theatre of the raiders' action. The fertile and beautiful Bannu plain watered by the Kurram and the Gambila rivers has a varied and woeful history. Surrounded as it is by the bleak and waterless salt range in the Kohat District on the north, by the sandy tract of Dera Ismail Khan on the south, and on the west and north-west by the howling wilderness of the Waziristan hills, where life is a perpetual struggle, not only of man against nature, but also of man against man, it naturally became an object of temptation to its fierce border neighbours. Its early history reads more like a blood-curdling narrative of the battles between hawks, kites and other birds of prey than anything else. The following excerpt taken at random from Thorburn's monograph on Bannu will serve as an apt illustration :

"Now the children of Shah Farid, who was also called Shitak, were glad for they were sore pressed at the hands of men of the tribe Wazir, and they girded up their loins, and with their wives and little ones came down from the mountains, and camped at the mouth of the pass called Tochi. Then their elders assembled together and said, 'Let us send three pigeons to the

Kanu Gandhi

AT AHMADI BANDA IN THE MONTH OF RAMZAN

Gandhiji (scarcely visible) with a cordon of non-violent Khudai Khidmatgars being conducted through a Pathan gathering.

p. 116.

> Mangals and Hanis as a sign of what we shall do unto them.' Then they took three pigeons, and the first they left entire, and the second they plucked of its wing-feathers alone; but on the third they left not a feather and moreover they cut off its head and feet; and they sent a messenger with them, who said to the elders of the Mangals and Hanis, 'The Lord is wroth with you, for you have treated his *Pir* scornfully, and he has delivered you into our hands; if ye rise and flee, even as this pigeon, ye shall be safe; if ye remain, ye shall be maimed even as this one and if ye resist, ye shall be destroyed even as this one.' Then the Mangals and Hanis feared exceedingly and it happened unto them as unto the pigeons."

In the Middle Ages, it became a valley of rest and ease to foreign hordes on their march from Ghazni to India; and all those vile concomitants of moving armies, "pimps, panders, harpies and whores", made it a centre of their nefarious activities, leaving behind a tradition that has not become altogether extinct yet. A proper appreciation of this historical background is necessary to understand clearly the phenomenon of trans-border kidnappings and raids.

The talk with the Khudai Khidmatgar officers at Bannu was one of the most important during the tour. In it Gandhiji explained the difference between non-violence of the strong and non-violence of the weak and the difference between constructive work, taken up as a philanthropic activity or as a political expedient, and constructive work linked to non-violence, when it becomes an emancipative force with tremendous potency. He recalled how the movement of non-violence was launched in India. Millions at that time felt that they would not be able to fight the British Government with the sword as the latter was infinitely better armed. He told them that even if they went forth to fight, sword in hand, they had to be ready to face death. If the sword broke in their hand, death would be a certainty. Why should not they then learn the art of dying without killing and pit against the enemy the strength of their spirit? The Government might imprison them or confiscate their property or even kill them. What did it matter? The argument went

home. But in their heart of hearts, said Gandhiji, many had the feeling that if only they had sufficient armed strength they would resort to fighting. They accepted non-violence because there was nothing else. In other words, there was violence in the heart. Only it was given up in action. It was non-violence of the weak, not of the brave. Even so it had made them stronger. He was there to tell them that it was a big mistake to regard non-violence as a weapon of the weak or to adopt it as such. If the Khudai Khidmatgars fell into that mistake, it would be a tragedy. "If you give up the sword at Badshah Khan's word, but retain it in your hearts, your non-violence will be a short-lived thing — not even a nine days' wonder. After a few years you will want to revert to it but, may be, you will then find that you have got out of the habit and are lost to both the ideals. Nothing will, in that event, remain to you but vain regret. What I want of you is a unique thing, i. e., that you will disdain to use the sword although you have got the capacity and there is no doubt as to victory. Even if the opponent is armed with a broken sword, you will oppose your neck to it. And this, not with anger or retaliation in your hearts but only love. If you have really understood non-violence in this sense, you will never want to use the sword because you will have got something infinitely superior in its place.

"You will ask, 'How will all this have any effect on the British Government?' My reply is that by uniting all the people of India in a common bond of love through our selfless service, we can transform the atmosphere in the country so that the Britisher will not be able to resist it. You will say that the Britisher is impervious to love. My thirty years' unbroken experience is to the contrary. Today 17,000 Englishmen can rule over three hundred millions of Indians because we are under a spell of fear. If we learn to love one another, if the gulf between Hindu and Muslim, caste and outcaste, and rich and poor, is obliterated, a handful of Englishmen would not dare to continue their rule over us.

"Just as there are laws of armed warfare," he next told them, "there are laws of non-violent warfare too. They have not been fully discovered. Under violence you punish the evil-doer, in non-violence you pity him, and regard him as a patient to be cured by your love.

"What must you do then to drive out the British by the non-violent method ? If you want to adopt the method of violence, you have to learn to drill and to become adept in the use of arms. In Europe and America even women and children are given that training. Similarly those who have adopted the weapon of non-violence have to put themselves through a vigorous discipline in non-violence."

And with that he came to the constructive programme and its place in the scheme of non-violence as a dynamic force. He had placed the programme of non-violence before the country in 1920, he explained. It was divided into two parts, non-co-operation and constructive programme. The latter included establishment of communal unity, abolition of untouchability, prohibition, complete eradication of the drink and drug evil and propagation of *khadi*, hand-spinning, hand-weaving and other cottage industries. But all these things had to be taken up not as a political expediency but as an integral part of the programme of non-violence. This last made all the difference. For instance, Hindu-Muslim unity, regarded as an expedient, was one thing and quite another, when adopted as an integral part of non-violence. "The former, by its very nature, cannot be lasting. It will be discarded as soon as the political exigency that suggested it is over. It may even be a stratagem or a ruse. When it is taken up as a part of the programme of non-violence it will have nothing but love at its root and will be sealed with one's heart's blood."

In the same way the *charkha* or the spinning wheel had to be linked to non-violence. "Today there are millions of unemployed destitute in India. One way to deal with them is to allow them to die off so that, as in South Africa, there might be more *per capita* land for the survivors. That would be the way of violence. The other

way, the way of non-violence, is based on the principle of 'even unto this last'. It requires us to have equal regard for the least of God's creation. A votary of this path will deny to himself what cannot be shared with the least. That applies even to those who labour with their hands — the relatively better off among the labouring class must seek to align themselves with the less fortunate." It was this line of thinking, said Gandhiji, which had led to the discovery of the *charkha* on his part. "I had not even seen a *charkha* when I first advocated its use. In fact I called it a handloom in *Hind Swaraj*,* not knowing a spinning wheel from a handloom. I had before my mind's eye the poor, landless labourer without employment or means of subsistence, crushed under the weight of poverty. How could I save him — that was my problem. Even now while I am sitting with you in these comfortable surroundings, my heart is with the poor and the oppressed in their humble cottages. I would feel more at home in their midst. If I allowed myself to succumb to the love of ease and comfort, it would be my undoing as a votary of *ahimsa*. What is it then that can provide a living link between me and the poor? The answer is the *charkha*. No matter what one's occupation or rank in life is, the *charkha*, taken with all that it signifies, will provide the golden bridge to unite him to the poor. For instance, if I am a doctor, while I draw the sacrificial thread, † it will make me think how I can assuage the suffering of the destitute instead of the royalty in rich palaces with the prospect of fat fees. The *charkha* is not my invention. It was there before. My discovery consisted in linking it to the programme of non-violence and independence. God whispered into my heart: 'If you want to work through non-violence, you have to proceed with

* *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* by M. K. Gandhi, published by the Navajivan Publishing House. It was originally written in Gujarati in 1909 when Gandhiji was editing the *Indian Opinion* in South Africa.

† A term used by Gandhiji to mean 'spinning not for self' but as a sacrament, to identify oneself with the poor.

small things, not big.' If we had worked the fourfold constructive programme in its completeness during the last twenty years as I had envisaged it, we should have been our masters today. No foreign power would have dared to cast its evil eye upon us. No enemy from outside would have dared to come and do us harm if there had been none within. Even if one had come we would have assimilated him to ourselves and he would not have been able to exploit us.

"It is this type of non-violence," he concluded, "that I want you to attain. I expect you to be twenty-four-carat gold, nothing less. Of course, you can deceive me. If you do that, I shall blame myself only. But if you are sincere, you have to prove by your action that nobody need be afraid of a Red Shirt or know fear while there is a Red Shirt alive."

CHAPTER XI

SOLDIERS OF VIOLENCE
versus
SOLDIERS OF THE SPIRIT

In striking contrast to the smiling Bannu plain is the *Tahsil* of Marwat. It is a vast sandy tract 1,198 square miles in area, with Lakki as its headquarters. Gandhiji visited it after a thirty-nine mile motor drive. An interesting feature of the programme at Lakki was a Khattak dance that Badshah Khan had specially arranged for him. The Khattak dance is based on movements involved in sword play and is a very popular form of folk-dance among the Khattak clan of Pathans whose land stretches from Bannu through Kohat and along the Indus as far north as Akara in the Peshawar District. Like many other indigenous folk-arts, it was fast falling into desuetude, when the Khudai Khidmatgar movement which stands for the revival of all that is best in ancient, indigenous Pathan culture, came to its rescue. The elemental vigour and simplicity of its rhythmic movements that are performed to the accompaniment of the music of the drums and the *surnais* held one spellbound while the sheer *elan*, with which the young and the old, including a sprinkling of Hindus, participated in it, gladdened one's heart. Particularly unforgettable was the performance of a youthful "grand old man" who seemed to personify perfectly the spirit of the old song, "Happy is the hall where beards wag all", and who nimbly popped in and lit up the intervals between the more vigorous forms by the snow-white glory of his beard and the irrepressible exuberance and abandon of his movements which threw even the most phlegmatic into roars of laughter. As one watched the performance one was reminded

of Fielding King Hall's * description of a Khattak dance: "Their feet stamped and they leapt, now with the force of elephants, then with grace of gazelles." And again, "the grace and agility of the leading 'girl' † was beyond anything I could have imagined. Nijinsky, Massine, Joos and others whom I have admired have a rival far away."

There was a public meeting at night when the forest of matchlocks and service rifles, with which the gathering was bristling, served vividly to remind one that it was no audience of milksops that sat listening with rapt attention to Gandhiji's discourse on non-violence. It provided a particularly appropriate background for his theme, viz., "The Power of Disarmament" on which he spoke to them: "I am here to tell you, with fifty years' experience of non-violence at my back, that it is an infinitely superior power as compared to brute force. An armed soldier relies on his weapons for his strength. Take away from him his weapons — his gun or his sword — and he generally becomes helpless, his resistance collapses and nothing is left to him but surrender. But a person who has truly realized the principle of non-violence has God-given strength for his weapon of which he cannot be deprived and which the world has not known anything to match. Man may, in a moment of unawareness, forget God, but He keeps watch over him and protects him always. If the Khudai Khidmatgars have understood this secret, if they have realized that non-violence is the greatest power on earth, well and good; otherwise it would be better for Badshah Khan to restore to them their weapons which they have discarded at his instance. They will then be at least brave after the manner of the world that has today made the worship of brute force its cult. But if they discard their old weapons and at the same time remain strangers to the power of non-violence, it would be a tragedy for which I for one am not and, so far as I know, Badshah Khan too is not prepared."

* Fielding King Hall: *Thirty Days of India.*

† In the folk-dances of the Pathans female parts are always played by males.

The talk to the Khudai Khidmatgars was a brilliant exposition of the difference between the organization of violence and that of non-violence. "The principles on which a non-violent organization is based," he observed, "are different from and the reverse of what obtains in a violent organization. For instance, in the orthodox army, there is clear discrimination as between an officer and a private. The latter is subordinate and inferior to the former. In a non-violent army the General is just the chief servant — first among equals. He claims no privilege over or superiority to the rank and file. You have fondly given the title 'Badshah Khan' to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. But if in his heart of hearts he actually began to believe that he could behave like an ordinary General, it would spell his downfall and bring his power to an end. He is Badshah in the sense only that he is the truest and foremost Khudai Khidmatgar and excels all other Khudai Khidmatgars in the quality and volume of service.

"The second difference between a military organization and a peace organization is that in the former, the rank and file have no part in the choice of their General and other officers. These are imposed upon them and enjoy unrestricted power over them. In a non-violent army, the General and the officers are elected or act as if they are elected. Their authority is moral and rests solely on the willing obedience of the rank and file.

"So much for internal relations between the General of a non-violent army and his soldiers. Coming to their relations with the outside world, the same sort of difference is visible. Just now we had to deal with an enormous crowd that had gathered outside this room. You tried to disperse it by persuasion and loving argument, not by using force and, when in the end, you failed in your attempt, withdrew and sought relief by getting behind the closed doors of this room. Military discipline knows no moral pressure.

"Let me proceed a step further. The people who are crowding outside here are all our friends though they

are not Khudai Khidmatgars. They are eager to listen to what we may tell them. But there may be others besides them elsewhere, who may not be well disposed towards us, who may even be hostile to us. In armed organizations, the only recognized way of dealing with such persons is to drive them out by force. Here, to regard even in thought, the opponent or, for that matter, anybody, as your enemy, would, in the parlance of non-violence or love, be called a sin. Far from seeking revenge, a votary of non-violence would pray to God that He might bring about a change of heart in his opponent and if that does not happen he would be prepared to bear any injury that his opponent might inflict upon him, not in a cowardly or helpless spirit, but bravely with a smile on his face. I believe implicitly in the ancient saying that non-violence real and complete will melt the stoniest hearts."

He illustrated his remarks by describing how Mir Alam Khan, his Pathan assailant in South Africa, had ultimately repented and become friendly: * "This could not have happened if I had retaliated. My action can be fitly described as a process of conversion. Unless you have felt within you this urge to convert your enemy by your love, you had better retrace your steps. Non-violence is not for you.

"'What about thieves, dacoits and spoilers of defenceless women?' you will ask. 'Must a Khudai Khidmat-

* In 1908 Gandhiji made a settlement with General Smuts, on a promise by the latter, that the anti-Asiatic legislation known as the Black Act would be removed if the Indian settlers agreed to voluntary registration. It involved giving of finger prints. Mir Alam, a Pathan, who had joined Gandhiji's struggle, misunderstood his motive and made a murderous attack on him, knocking him down senseless and left him for dead. As soon as Gandhiji recovered consciousness he wrote a letter to the authorities saying that he did not want Mir Alam to be prosecuted as he evidently was labouring under a misapprehension and did not know what he was doing. Mir Alam was jailed, his offence being cognizable, but he was so touched by Gandhiji's forgiveness that he became his devoted friend afterwards and constituted himself into his bodyguard.

(For full story see Gandhiji's *History of Satyagraha in South Africa*, chapters 22 and 27).

gar maintain non-violence in regard to them too?' My reply is, most decidedly 'yes'. Punishment is God's who alone is the infallible judge. It does not belong to man "with judgment weak". Renunciation of violence must not mean apathy or helplessness in the face of wrong-doing. If our non-violence is genuine and rooted in love, it ought to provide a more effective remedy against wrong-doing than the use of brute force. I certainly expect you to trace out the dacoits, show them the error of their ways, and in so doing, brave even death."

From Lakki to Dera Ismail Khan was a long and fatiguing drive. Wide stretches of an arid, waterless waste, reaching right up to the Indus! Clay hills with their sides deeply indurated by the action of the wind and the rain, sprawling across it like the remains of huge, antediluvian monsters! Strings of camels carrying on their backs the entire paraphernalia of a household, from cherub-faced little tots to hens, chicks and firewood! Caravans of Afghans trekking down from their native homeland, with their families and shaggy, fat, fierce sheep dogs, for their winter sojourn in the plains within the British territory! A wisp of mirage shimmering in the distance through a veil of heated air! Dust-begrimed hedgeberry bushes flitting past, ghost-like by the road-side! The dust and the glare! These make up the sum of impressions in retrospect of the route to Dera Ismail Khan.

Dera Ismail Khan was reached at evening. It was still passing through the aftermath of the 1930 Hindu-Muslim riot with its ugly memories of arson and loot. The local Congress organization seemed to exist only in name and even the co-operation of Badshah Khan's team of Khudai Khidmatgars seemed to be unwelcome to the local volunteers. The result was that arrangements for keeping the crowds under control at Gandhiji's residence completely broke down and there was pandemonium making the holding of the prayer meeting impossible. Gandhiji tried in vain to take shelter behind bolted doors from the crowd who would not leave

him at peace even there. The more daring ones clambered on the roof, and the skylights looking into Gandhiji's room were soon lined with scores upon scores of curious, prying eyes! After two days, the Nawab Saheb of Dera Ismail Khan 'kidnapped' Gandhiji and party with the permission of his Hindu host and removed them to the comparative peace of his residence.

A purse of Rs. 5,753 was presented to Gandhiji at the public meeting — by no means a creditable performance for a city like Dera Ismail Khan. And even out of this amount Rs. 5,000 was a single donation. The poor show drew from Gandhiji a sharp rebuke in the course of his joint reply to the various addresses of welcome that were presented to him at the public meeting. "I thank you for the purse which you have presented," he began, "but you should know that *Daridranarayana*, whose representative I claim to be, is not so easily satisfied. My business is with the crores of semi-starved masses, who sorely need relief. We have to tackle through *khadi*, the question of the huge annual drain from India caused by the importation of cotton goods and long staple cotton for our textile mills. Through *khadi* the All-India Spinners' Association has already distributed over four crores of rupees as wages among the needy Hindu and Mussulman spinners and weavers. Then, there is the question of Harijan uplift — an equally Herculean task. Your donation ought to be commensurate with the magnitude of the task for which it is intended. Yours is not a poor city. The donors are mostly merchants. Surely, you could have done better."

Referring next to the Khudai Khidmatgars and to the strained relations between them and the local volunteers which he had noticed, he proceeded: "These differences are unfortunate. If, however, the Khudai Khidmatgars live up to their creed as they have now understood it, the differences and quarrels will be things of the past. They are on their trial. If they come out victorious they will be instrumental in bringing about communal unity and establishing Swaraj. To banish anger altogether from

one's breast, I know, is a difficult task. It cannot be achieved through purely personal effort. It can be done only by God's grace. I ask you all to join me in the prayer that God might enable the Khudai Khidmatgars to conquer the last traces of anger and violence that might still be lurking in their breasts."

Kulachi, the headquarters of the *tahsil* of that name, situated on the north bank of the Luni torrent, twenty-seven miles west of Dera Ismail Khan presented an address to Gandhiji at a public meeting held there on the 30th of October. It referred to the chronic poverty of the *tahsil* and the scarcity of rainfall which did not exceed four inches in the year. Gandhiji had no hesitation in saying that they could banish poverty by taking to the *charkha*: "I can say that if the Pathans will take to this peaceful occupation, both cotton and wool spinning have a great future."

At the public meeting held next day at Tank, Gandhiji referred to the lament that the Hindus of Tank had poured out before him. A deputation of Hindus had waited upon him and complained about the state of general insecurity in respect of life and property under which they lived. If only the local Khudai Khidmatgars helped them, they had told him, their problem would be solved. "They feel," observed Gandhiji, "that the existence of a microscopic Hindu minority in the midst of the predominantly Mussulman population in this area can be rendered possible only if the latter will be as true *hamsayas* (neighbours) to them, and they have asked me to appeal to the Khudai Khidmatgars to fulfil their natural role in respect of them. I entirely endorse their feeling and their appeal, and I am convinced that it is within your power to set them at their ease if you will but fulfil the expectations you have raised in me. As I observed on a previous occasion, the Hindus, the Mussulmans and the Englishmen in this province are being weighed in the balance. History will record its verdict about the Englishmen's deeds. But the Hindus and the Mussulmans can write their own history by being correct in their mutual dealings. For the Khudai

Khidmatgars their course of action has been determined. They have to become a living wall of protection to their neighbours.

"A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history. It has happened before and it may again happen if the non-violence of the Khudai Khidmatgars is unalloyed gold, not mere glittering tinsel."

In his usual talk to the Khudai Khidmatgars, Gandhiji chose for his text, what a local Mussulman notable had told him and which Gandhiji himself later recorded: * "If in your heart of hearts there is the slightest inclination to regard non-violence as a mere cloak for or a stepping stone to greater violence as suggested by this friend," he told the Khudai Khidmatgars, "nay, unless you are prepared to carry your non-violence to its ultimate logical conclusion and to pray for forgiveness even for a baby-killer and a child-murderer, you cannot sign your Khudai Khidmatgar's pledge of non-violence. To sign that pledge with mental reservations would only bring disgrace upon you and your organization and hurt him whom you might delight to call *Fakhar-i-Afghan*—the Pride of the Afghans."

Next, discussing the classical imaginary case of an innocent girl being in danger of being molested by a ruffian he explained to them how non-violent self-immolation provided a better and more efficacious way for saving the girl from her threatened fate than the method of violence: "'But what about the classical instance of the defenceless sister or mother who is threatened with molestation by an evil-minded ruffian?' you will ask. 'Is the ruffian in question to be allowed to work his will? Would not the use of violence be permissible even in such a case?' My reply is, 'No'. You will entreat the ruffian. The odds are that in his intoxication he will not listen. You will then interpose yourself between him and his intended victim. Very probably you will be killed but

* See Chapter IX.

you will have done your duty. Ten to one, killing you unarmed and unresisting will assuage the assailant's lust and he will leave his victim unmolested. But it has been said to me that tyrants do not act as we want or expect them to. Finding you unresisting he may tie you to a post and make you witness the rape of the victim. If you have the will you will so exert yourself that you will break the bonds or break yourself in the attempt. In either case, you will open the eyes of the wrong-doer. Your armed resistance could do no more, while if you were worsted, the position would likely be much worse than if you died unresisting. There is also the chance of the intended victim copying your calm courage and immolating herself rather than allowing herself to be dishonoured."

It was probably for the first time that anybody had spoken to them in that strain and dared to present to them the gospel of non-violence in its completeness. The very fact that Gandhiji found it possible to do so constitutes a new era in the history of the Pathan race. As one watched these rough soldiers listening to Gandhiji's strange message of peace under the watchful eye of their chief, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, one could not help recalling to oneself the immortal lines of the poet describing "stout Cortez" and his men that looked at each other "with mild surmise, silent, upon a peak in Darien."

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken,
Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific, and all his men
Looked at each other with a mild surmise,
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

CHAPTER XII

ACROSS THE SALT RANGE

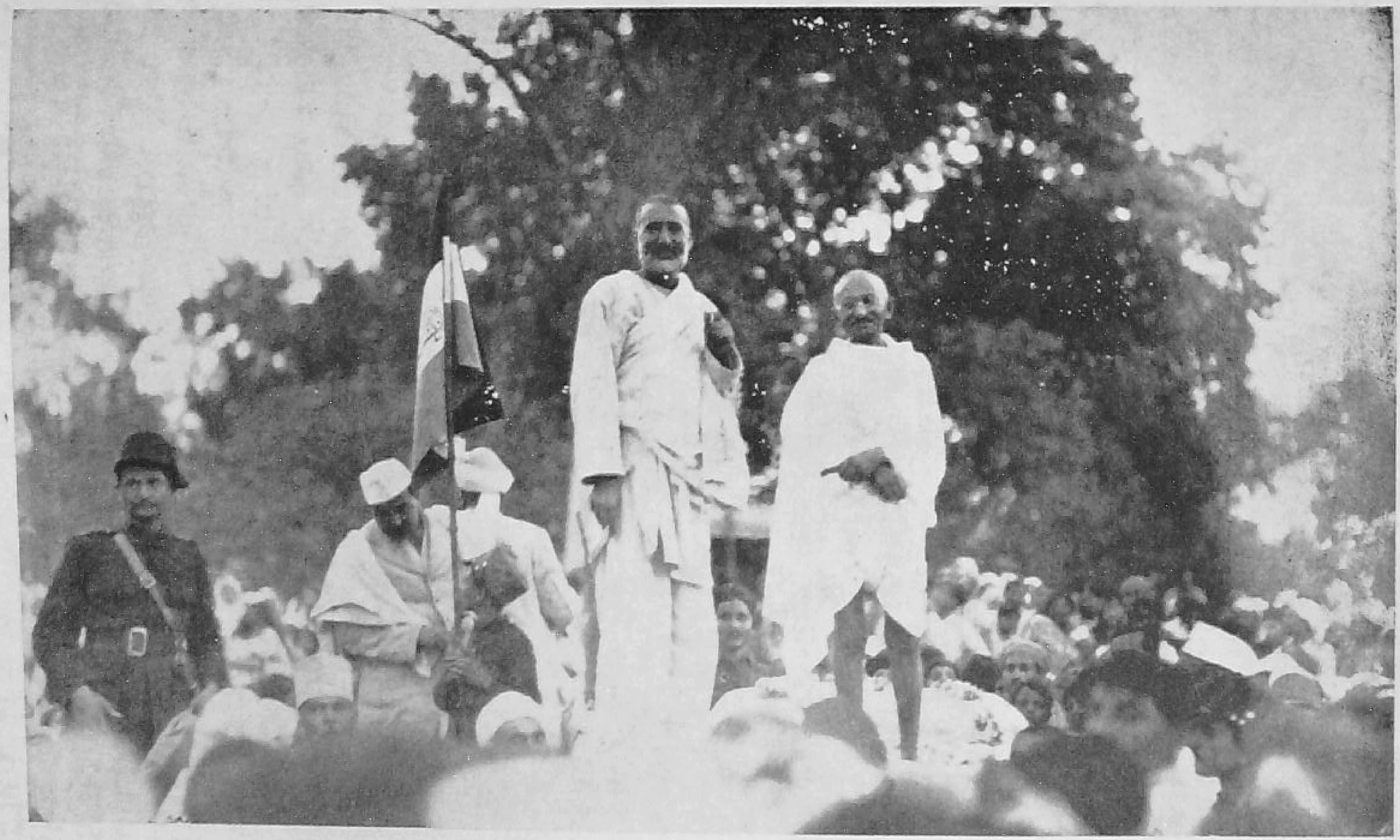
With Dera Ismail Khan ended Gandhiji's tour of the trans-Indus districts of the North-West Frontier Province. Leaving Dera Ismail Khan in the afternoon we entered upon the last lap of the tour. Gandhiji was anxious not to extend his tour a day further than absolutely necessary into the month of Ramzan. The punctilious care with which our Mussulman hosts throughout the tour and Badshah Khan and his Old Guard of the Khudai Khidmatgars looked after the feeding and other creature-comforts of Gandhiji and his party while they themselves fasted, made Gandhiji all the more determined to apply in his own case the principle of *noblesse oblige.* He made a feeling reference to it in the course of his talk with the Khudai Khidmatgars in a small way-side village where we halted for our midday meal later. "It has touched me deeply and also humbled me to find," he observed, "that at a time, when owing to the Ramzan fast, not a kitchen fire was lit in the whole of this village of Mussulman homes, food had to be cooked for us. I am past the stage when I could fast with you as I did in South Africa to teach the Mussulman boys who were under my care to keep the Ramzan fast. I had also to consider the feelings of Badshah Khan who had made my physical well-being his day-and-night concern and who would have felt embarrassed if I fasted. I can only ask your pardon."

The rest of the journey was a mad rush. We covered over one hundred miles on the first day, striking out into the interior to take in the village of Paniala, ten miles from the main road. Evening had already fallen when we reached Mirekhel and the roads were barricaded. Travelling on this section of the road was not considered safe, and no traffic was permitted after 4 p.m. But Badshah

Khan's presence acted as "open sesame" everywhere. "Tell them, we want to travel at our risk," he instructed his son Wali Khan who was behind the steering wheel, as we approached the first barricade. And then, "If you hear somebody shout out 'stop', put on the brakes at once. Nobody will touch us if they know who we are; but if you try to rush past, you may hear a shot ring out after you." We halted for the night in the fruit garden of M. Maqsudjan and his brother, who hides behind a rustic exterior his university education. The rush was resumed on the following morning. Doubling the track of our original journey to Dera Ismail Khan we halted for a couple of hours in the village of Ahmadi Banda, skirted the town of Bannu and sped past the gray masses of clay hills of the Salt Range on whose crumbling crests a weird loneliness and sleep seem to brood always. Then on through the town of Kohat and over the Kohat pass, we passed the point, now marked by a police picket, where a goat track emerges from a mountain defile and over which Mollie Ellis was carried by her captors to her place of captivity. And so on over one hundred and twenty-five miles of the track, and finally "the market square of the Peshawar Town" at the end of the day.

Badshah Khan kept up a running fire of comment on the various sites and localities on the route while mile after mile of the asphalted track reeled out and was left behind. As we sped past one of the military posts with which the Bannu-Kohat road was studded, he broke out: "What a costly futility, Mahatmaji! Look at this vain display of flags, armoured cars and tanks. And yet they have not been able to capture a small band of robbers that has been harrying this part of the country for so long. The robber chief planted his flag on yonder hill in sight of the military and challenged them to arrest him, but he is still at large. Either it spells hopeless inefficiency on the part of the military or deliberate apathy which is nothing short of criminal."

There were meetings with Khudai Khidmatgars both at Paniala and Ahmadi Banda and a public meeting



Gopal Chitra Kuteer

"You ought to feel the stronger for having put away your arms."

p. 58.

besides at Paniala. But before giving the substance of Gandhiji's talks, it is necessary to note a few things about the people to whom his remarks were addressed, their characteristics and traditions.

Unlike the term *Afghan* which is used, in its widest sense, to denote any inhabitant of the modern kingdom of Afghanistan, the term *Pathan* has a linguistic derivation, being a corruption of Pukhton, the Pukhtu-speakers. It includes all Pushtu- or Pukhtu-speaking people of Southern and Eastern Afghanistan and the Indian borderland. One of the points which Badshah Khan used often to emphasize in his public speeches was that in the Frontier Province everybody was a Pathan who had made that province his home and spoke Pukhtu, irrespective of whether he was a Hindu, Sikh or Mussulman. And as a matter of fact there are Hindus and Sikhs, women and children settled among the Pathans who have adopted the Pathan dress and who can speak only Pushtu. They have even adopted the Pushtu suffix *zai*-' son of '.

By temperament the Pathans are a childlike and jovial race. They are fond of music, poetry and folk-dances and when exhilarated, will express their exuberance by the firing of ' festive shots '. Their favourite instruments of music are drums (*nagara*), flute (*surnai*) and bagpipes.

In appearance the Pathan is of a stalwart make, lean and wiry. Throughout our tour we did not come across a single Pathan with a paunch, thanks to lean meat which he consumes and his sparing use of starch. He never moves without his weapons. When grazing his cattle or driving his beasts of burden, when tilling the soil or attending a fair or a public function he is still armed. His rifle or his long, heavy *jezail* (as the old style Pathan matchlocks are called), which is generally slung over his left shoulder, the belt of cartridges and the knives and daggers that are stuck about his person, one of them often between the nape of his neck and the collar of his mantle, are never laid aside outside his home and during his waking hours. He is a crack shot and an adept in ambuscade and mountain guerrilla warfare.

It has become a fashion among English writers on the Pathan question — most of whom are ex-military officers, and therefore his enemies — to vilify Pathan character. He has been described as "thievish and predatory to the last degree". "A Pathan will steal a blanket from under a sleeping person," observes Commander Stephen King Hall. But we have the testimony both of Davies and the author of that delightful book, *The Khyber Caravan*, that the problem facing the military authorities today is not how to prevent the disappearance of blankets from under the sleeping citizens, but disappearance of pickets (who have forgotten sleep for fear of the raiders), rifle and all. Loss of rifles of sentries on duty became so frequent that orders were issued that except in the case of Tochi scouts rifles must be chained to the person of the picket. But neither the penalty of court-martial for loss of rifle nor the practice of chaining the fire-arms to the persons of scouts out on duty, "at the wrist and the waist" was proof against the ingenuity of the raiders who now carried away the sentry along with the rifle chained to his person.

In his social relations the Pathan is ruled by what is known as Pukhtonwali or the threefold Pathan code of honour, which imposes upon tribesmen obligations, the non-observance of which is regarded as the deadliest of sins and is followed by lasting dishonour and ostracism: (1) he must grant to all fugitives the right of asylum (*nanawatai*), (2) he must proffer openhanded hospitality (*melmastia*) even to his deadliest enemy, and (3) he must wipe out insult with insult (*badal*). This last leads to the practice of blood-feuds which is the bane of the Pathan race. Every branch or section of a tribe has its internecine wars, every family its hereditary blood-feuds and every individual his personal foes. "Every person counts up his murders, each tribe has its debtor and creditor account with its neighbours, life for life." "Unfortunately," observes Davies, "unruly tribesmen fail to realize that under the disastrous influence of this barbarous custom, many of their noblest families are brought to the

verge of extinction. Until these civil warfares die out, there can be no united people and no reign of peace." As has been already stated in these pages, these blood-feuds Badshah Khan deplores most and believes that if non-violence takes deep root in the Pathan heart the senseless feuds will die and the Pathan will live.

But whatever the virtues and defects of the Pathan character may be, non-violence has not in the long past been one of them. And so Gandhiji took pains to explain to the Khudai Khidmatgars that what he had come to tell them was not any addition to or extension of what they had known and practised but in several ways its reverse. "I have now had the assurance from your own lips of what I had from Badshah Khan already," he remarked to the Khudai Khidmatgars at Paniala. "You have adopted non-violence not merely as a temporary expedient but as a creed for good. Therefore, mere renunciation of the sword, if there is a sword in your heart, will not carry you far. Your renunciation of the sword cannot be said to be genuine unless it generates in your hearts a power, the opposite of that of the sword and superior to it. Hitherto revenge or retaliation has been held amongst you as a sacred obligation. If you have a feud with anybody that man becomes your enemy for all time and the feud is handed down from father to son. In non-violence even if somebody regards you as his enemy, you may not so regard him in return, and of course, there can be no question of revenge." He asked them: "Who could be more cruel or bloodthirsty than the late General Dyer? * Yet the Jallianwalla Bagh Congress Inquiry Committee, on my

* On April 13, 1919, General Dyer killed (according to the official figure) 327 and wounded 1,200, by giving the order to fire on a peaceful and unarmed gathering of men, women and children in Jallianwalla Bagh at Amritsar, that had assembled to protest against the repressive Rowlatt Act, against which Gandhiji had launched Satyagraha. This was followed by the introduction of Martial Law. A committee of inquiry was appointed by the Indian National Congress to report on the massacre and the "Punjab Martial Law atrocities". Gandhiji who was on the Committee opposed the idea of demanding punishment of General Dyer but asked that he be relieved of his charge.

advice, refused to ask for his prosecution. I had no trace of ill-will against him in my heart. I would have also liked to meet him personally and reach his heart, but that was to remain a mere aspiration." And he went on to tell them how non-violence of a Khudai Khidmatgar should express itself in acts of service to God's creatures and the training that was necessary for it.

At the end of his talk he was presented with a poser by one of the Khudai Khidmatgars who had followed his address closely: "You expect us to protect the Hindus against the raiders and yet you tell us that we may not use our weapons even against thieves and dacoits. How can the two go together?" "The contradiction," Gandhiji replied, "is only apparent. If you have really assimilated the non-violent spirit, you won't wait for the raiders to appear on the scene, but will seek them out in their own territory and prevent the raids from taking place. If even then a raid does take place, you will face the raiders and tell them that they can take away all your belongings but they shall touch the property of your Hindu neighbours only over your dead body. And if there are hundreds of Khudai Khidmatgars ready to protect the Hindu *hamsayas* (neighbours) with their lives, the raiders will certainly think better of butchering in cold blood all the innocent and inoffensive Khudai Khidmatgars who are non-violently pitched against them. You know the story of Abdul Qadir Jilani and his forty gold *mohurs* with which his mother had sent him to Baghdad. On the way the caravan was waylaid by robbers who proceeded to strip Abdul Qadir's companions of all their belongings. Thereupon Abdul Qadir, who so far happened to be untouched, shouted out to the raiders and offered them the forty gold *mohurs* which his mother had sewn into the lining of his tunic. The legend goes that the raiders were so struck by the simple *naivete* of the boy, that the saint then was, that they not only let him go untouched but returned to his companions all their belongings."

At Ahmadi Banda Gandhiji explained to the Khudai Khidmatgars the place of Civil Disobedience in the

Gopal Chitra Kuteer

WITH THE NAWAB OF DERA

"You are very clever, Mr. Gandhi. You have bettered even Hitler. I congratulate you."

p. 127.

programme of non-violence and its relation to the constructive programme.

The Bar Association of Peshawar utilized Gandhiji's presence in the city by presenting him with an address at the Premier's residence in which they proudly claimed him as one of their confraternity and incidentally also managed to blow their own trumpet a little by adverting to the splendid services in the political field rendered by the leading lights of the profession. Gandhiji, in a witty little speech, while thanking them for the honour that they had done him, observed that he was hardly entitled to that privilege, in the first place because, as they all knew, he had been disbarred by his own Inn and secondly, because he had long forgotten his law. Of late, he had more often been engaged in breaking laws than in expounding or interpreting them in the courts of the land. Still another and, perhaps, his most vital reason was his peculiar views about lawyers and doctors which he had recorded in his booklet, *Indian Home Rule*. A true lawyer, he told them, was one who placed truth and service in the first place and the emoluments of the profession in the next place only. He did not know whether they had all adopted that ideal but if they pledged themselves to render service through their legal acumen in an altruistic spirit, he would be the first to pay them his homage.

Before leaving Peshawar Gandhiji had a meeting with the members of the Frontier Ministry when, in fulfilment of his promises made at various places, he thrashed out with them certain political and administrative matters round which a lot of public controversy had gathered. The discussion served the purpose of clarifying the position with regard to some of the matters, while in regard to some others, definite decisions were adopted by the Ministry in the light of Gandhiji's remarks.

A high official from Southern India who sought out Gandhiji at Peshawar, put to him a pretty poser: "As I move from the south northwards, I seem to confront a different humanity altogether. There seems to be no meeting-ground between the type here and that found

in the south. Will the twain ever meet ?" Gandhiji's reply was that whilst apparent difference was there, non-violence was the golden bridge that united the ferocious and warlike Pathan and the mild and intellectual South Indian. The Khudai Khidmatgars who had accepted non-violence as their creed ceased to be different, except in the degree of their non-violent valour, from people in other parts of India. In this question of fusion of various types, as in many another knotty question, the moment we adopt the non-violent approach all difficulties melt away.

The cis-Indus District of Hazara, the last to be visited during Gandhiji's tour, is the northernmost district of the North-West Frontier Province and the only territory of that province east of the Indus. It lies like a wedge of British territory 120 miles in length, driven in between Kashmir on the East and the independent hills on the West.

Before entering it, however, Gandhiji paid a brief visit to Bibhuti, in Chach Ilaqa. This territory, though politically and geographically a part of the Punjab, is linguistically and in respect of customs, habits and mode of life of its people closely allied to the North-West Frontier Province. They had requested that Pushtu-speaking people of their *Ilaqa* should be permitted to join the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the Frontier Province. Gandhiji told them that there could be no difficulty in their so doing : "The Khudai Khidmatgars is an organization with its headquarters at Utmanzai. Any one who signs their pledge and can speak Pushtu can enrol himself as a Khudai Khidmatgar. The only condition is that he cannot simultaneously be on the register of any other organization. You are, therefore, absolutely free to enrol as Khudai Khidmatgars if you like and no special permission is needed for it."

While driving to Bibhuti, Gandhiji's car had a slight accident as a result of which a calf was knocked down and partly run over. The local Congressmen accompanying Badshah Khan did not hesitate to throw the whole blame for the accident on opponents of the Congress

Ministry. To Gandhiji this readiness on the part of Congress friends to fasten blame on opponents without sufficient ground savoured of intolerance and want of charity which are incompatible with the attitude of non-violence. "The Khudai Khidmatgars have proved their undoubted capacity for organization. The presence of a picked body of Khudai Khidmatgars at a public meeting makes all the difference between order and disorder. The principle of non-violence requires that they should make the people do, through their power of love, all those things that the police do through the power of the *lathi* and the bullet. When the seedling of love sprouts forth in our hearts our petty quarrels and mutual bickerings will become a thing of the past........Take today's incident of the calf that was accidentally run over by our motor bus. Love should have prompted the chauffeur to stop the car immediately so that adequate arrangements might be made for the care and treatment of the injured animal. One of our party showed what seemed to me unseemly haste in naming the so-called opponents as the deliberate authors of the accident. In non-violence, we must not be in a hurry to ascribe motives to the opponent or regard him with suspicion unless we have proof positive for it. When love fills the hearts of the Khudai Khidmatgars we shall have independence. But independence will not come to us till our love shines out in our littlest acts."

"We must send someone to the place where the accident occurred," he remarked to Badshah Khan at the end of the meeting, "to offer compensation to the owner of the animal and to take the calf for treatment to a vet."

"*Beshak*" (certainly), replied Badshah Khan and did as he was bidden.

Gandhiji reached Haripur on the evening of the 6th November paying a visit on the way to the famous Sikh shrine of Panja Saheb where he and Badshah Khan were presented with *sarapa* (dress of honour) by the management of the shrine. The scenes of disorder at Dera Ismail Khan were repeated at Haripur. He was taken in a procession through the city in spite of strict instructions to

the contrary and in spite of what he had been given to understand. It took more than one hour to get Gandhiji's luggage to him, owing to the crush of the people who had beleaguered the house of his host. The other gate was crashed before we had been there many hours. The next day he quietly slipped out to Abbottabad early in the morning, several hours before the time fixed for departure.

A public meeting was held at Haripur at evening. Here again, a little incident gave to Gandhiji his cue. Before the meeting commenced a letter from the head master of the local high school was handed to Gandhiji lodging a gentle complaint that the local Congress authorities had failed to ask for his formal permission for holding their meeting on the school grounds. Commenting upon this in his speech, Gandhiji told the audience that observance of perfect courtesy and a punctiliously correct behaviour were as much part of non-violence as some of the other and bigger things of which he had been telling them: "Scientists tell us that we are descended from the ourang. That may be so, but it is not man's destiny to live and die a brute. In proportion as we cultivate non-violence and voluntary discipline we are contra-distinguished from brute nature and fulfil our destiny. One of the obligations that non-violence places upon us is to respect the rights even of the weakest, for instance, even a little child's."

A storm in a tea cup was caused by a small group of "Socialists". They handed to Badshah Khan an address which they wanted to present to Gandhiji, but as the meeting had already commenced the permission could not be granted. At this they left the meeting shouting unseemly slogans. Gandhiji utilized the incident to emphasize the necessity of forbearance in the scheme of non-violence: "We must meet abuse by forbearance. Human nature is so constituted that if we take absolutely no notice of anger or abuse, the person indulging in it will soon be weary of it and stop. We should harbour no resentment against those who tried to create the disturbance which, without their meaning it, has taught us

a valuable little lesson in forbearance. A *satyagrahi* always regards the 'enemy' as a potential friend. During half a century of experience of non-violence I have not come across a case of enmity persisting to the end in the face of absolute non-violence."

CHAPTER XIII

KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS AND THEIR CHIEF

Summing up his impressions of the tour in a signed article afterwards, Gandhiji wrote : "Whatever the Khudai Khidmatgars may be or may ultimately turn out to be, there can be no doubt about what their leader whom they delight to call Badshah Khan is. He is unquestionably a man of God. He believes in His living presence and knows that his movement will prosper only if God wills it. Having put his whole soul into his cause, he remains indifferent as to what happens. It is enough for him to realize that there is no deliverance for the Pathan except through out and out acceptance of non-violence. He does not take pride in the fact that the Pathan is a fine fighter. He appreciates his bravery but he thinks that he has been spoilt by overpraise. He does not want to see his Pathan as a *goonda* of society. He believes that the Pathan has been exploited and kept in ignorance. He wants the Pathan to become braver than he is and wants him to add true knowledge to his bravery. This he thinks can only be achieved through non-violence.

"And as Badshah Khan believes in my non-violence, he wanted me to be as long as I could among the Khudai Khidmatgars. For me I needed no temptation to go to them. I was myself anxious to make their acquaintance. I wanted to reach their hearts. I do not know that I have done so now. Anyway I made the attempt.

"But before I proceed to describe how I approached my task and what I did I must say a word about Badshah Khan as my host. His one care throughout the tour was to make me as comfortable as the circumstances permitted. He spared no pains to make me proof against privation or discomfort. All my wants were anticipated by him. And there was no fuss about what he did. It was

all perfectly natural for him. It was all from the heart. There is no humbug about him. He is an utter stranger to affectation. His attention is therefore never embarrassing, never obtrusive. And so when we parted at Taxila our eyes were wet. The parting was difficult. And we parted in the hope that we would meet again probably in March next. The Frontier Province must remain a place of frequent pilgrimage for me. For though the rest of India may fail to show true non-violence there seems to be ground for hoping that the Frontier Province will pass through the fiery ordeal. The reason is simple. Badshah Khan commands willing obedience from his adherents, said to number more than one hundred thousand. They hang on his lips. He has but to say the word and it is carried out. Whether in spite of all the veneration he commands, the Khudai Khidmatgars will pass the test in constructive non-violence remains to be seen.

" At the outset both Badshah Khan and I had come to the conclusion that instead of addressing the whole of the Khudai Khidmatgars at the various centres, I should confine myself to the leaders. This would save my energy and be its wisest use. And so it proved to be. During the five weeks, we visited all the centres, and the talks lasted for one hour or more at each centre. I found Badshah Khan to be a very competent and faithful interpreter. And as he believed in what I said, he put into the translation all the force he could command. He is a born orator and speaks with dignity and effect.

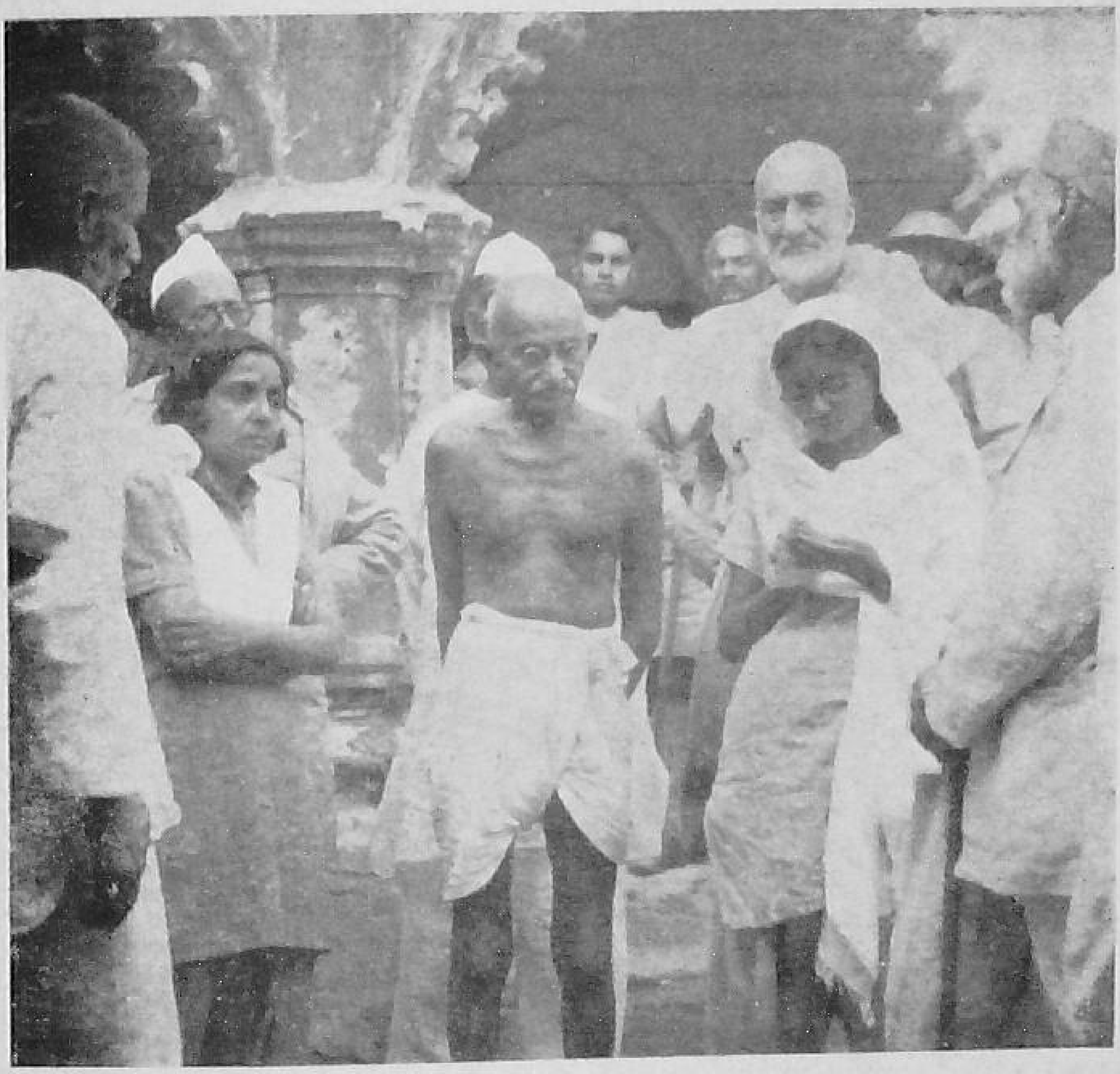
" At every meeting I repeated the warning that unless they felt that in non-violence they had come into possession of a force infinitely superior to the one they had and in the use of which they were adepts, they should have nothing to do with non-violence and resume the arms they possessed before. It must never be said of the Khudai Khidmatgars that once so brave, they had become or been made cowards under Badshah Khan's influence. Their bravery consisted not in being good marksmen but in defying death and being ever ready to bare their breasts to the bullets. This bravery they had to keep intact and

be ready to show whenever occasion demanded. And for the truly brave such occasions occurred often enough without seeking.

"This non-violence was not a mere passive quality. It was the mightiest force God had endowed man with. Indeed, possession of non-violence distinguished man from the brute creation. It was inherent in every human being, but in most it lay dormant. Perhaps the word non-violence was an inadequate rendering of *ahimsa* which itself was an incomplete connotation of all it was used for conveying. A better rendering would be love or goodwill. And goodwill came into play only when there was ill-will matched against it. To be good to the good is an exchange at par. A rupee against a rupee gives no index to its quality. It does when it is matched against an anna. Similarly a man of goodwill is known only when he matches himself against one of ill-will.

"This non-violence or goodwill was to be exercised not only against Englishmen but it must have full play even among ourselves. Non-violence against Englishmen may be a virtue of necessity, and may easily be a cover for cowardice or simple weakness. It may be, as it often is, a mere expedient. But it could not be an expedient when we have an equal choice between violence and non-violence. Such instances occur in domestic relations, social and political relations among ourselves, not only between rival sects of the same faith but persons belonging to different faiths. We cannot be truly tolerant towards Englishmen if we are intolerant towards our neighbours and equals. Hence our goodwill, if we had it in any degree, would be tested almost every day. And if we actively exercised it, we would become habituated to its use in wider fields till at last it became second nature with us.

"The very name Badshah Khan had adopted for them had showed that they were to serve, not to injure, humanity. For God took and needed no personal service. He served His creatures without demanding any service for Himself in return. He was unique in this as in many



ON HEALING MISSION IN RIOT-TORN BIHAR (1947)
" Many of us have ceased to be men."
p. 165.

other things. Therefore servants of God were to be known by the service they rendered to His creatures.

"Hence the non-violence of the Khudai Khidmatgars had to show itself in their daily action. It could be so exhibited only if they were non-violent in thought, word and deed.

"And even as a person who relied upon the use of force in his daily dealings would have to undergo a military training, so will a servant of God have to go through a definite training. This was provided for in the very foundation resolution of the special Congress of 1920. It was broadened from time to time. It was never toned down to my knowledge. The exercise of active goodwill was to be tested through communal unity, shedding of untouchability by Hindus, the home- and hand-manufacture and use of *khadi* — a sure symbol of oneness with the millions — and prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. This fourfold programme was called a process of purification and a sure method of gaining organic freedom for the country. This programme was followed but half-heartedly by Congressmen and the country, thus betraying a lack of living faith in non-violence, or faith in the method devised for its daily practice, or both. But the Khudai Khidmatgars were expected and believed to have a living faith in non-violence. Therefore they would be expected to follow out the whole of the constructive self-purification programme of the Congress. I have added to it village sanitation, hygiene and simple medical relief in the villages. A Khudai Khidmatgar will be known by his works. He cannot be in a village without his making it cleaner and affording help to the villagers in their simple ailments. Hospitals and the like are toys of the rich and are available for the most part only to the city-dwellers. Efforts are no doubt being made to cover the land with dispensaries. But the cost is prohibitive. Whereas the Khudai Khidmatgars could, with a little but substantial training, easily give relief in the majority of cases of illness that occurred in the villages.

"I told the leaders of the Khudai Khidmatgars that Civil Disobedience was the end of non-violence, by no means its beginning. Yet I started in this country at the wrong end in 1918. I was overwhelmed by necessity. The country had not come to harm, only because I, claiming to be an expert in non-violent technique, knew when and how to retrace our steps. Suspension of Civil Disobedience at Patna was part of the technique. I have just as much faith in the constructive programme of 1920 as I had then. I could not lead a campaign of Civil Disobedience in terms of *Purna Swaraj*, without due fulfilment of the programme. The right to Civil Disobedience accrues only to those who know and practise the duty of voluntary obedience to laws whether made by them or others. Obedience should come not from fear of the consequences of the breach but because it is the duty to obey with all our heart and not merely mechanically. Without the fulfilment of this preliminary condition, Civil Disobedience is civil only in name and never of the strong but of the weak. It is not charged with goodwill, i.e., non-violence. The Khudai Khidmatgars had shown in unmistakable terms their bravery in suffering during the Civil Disobedience days as did many thousands in the other provinces. But it was not proof positive of goodwill at heart. And it would be a deterioration in the Pathan if he was non-violent only in appearance. For he must not be guilty of weakness.

"The Khudai Khidmatgars listened to all I said with rapt attention. Their faith in non-violence is not as yet independent of Badshah Khan. It is derived from him. But it is none the less living so long as they have unquestioning faith in their leader who enjoys undisputed kingdom over their hearts. And Badshah Khan's faith is no lip profession. His whole heart is in it. Let the doubters live with him, as I have all these precious five weeks, and their doubt will be dissolved like mist before the morning sun."

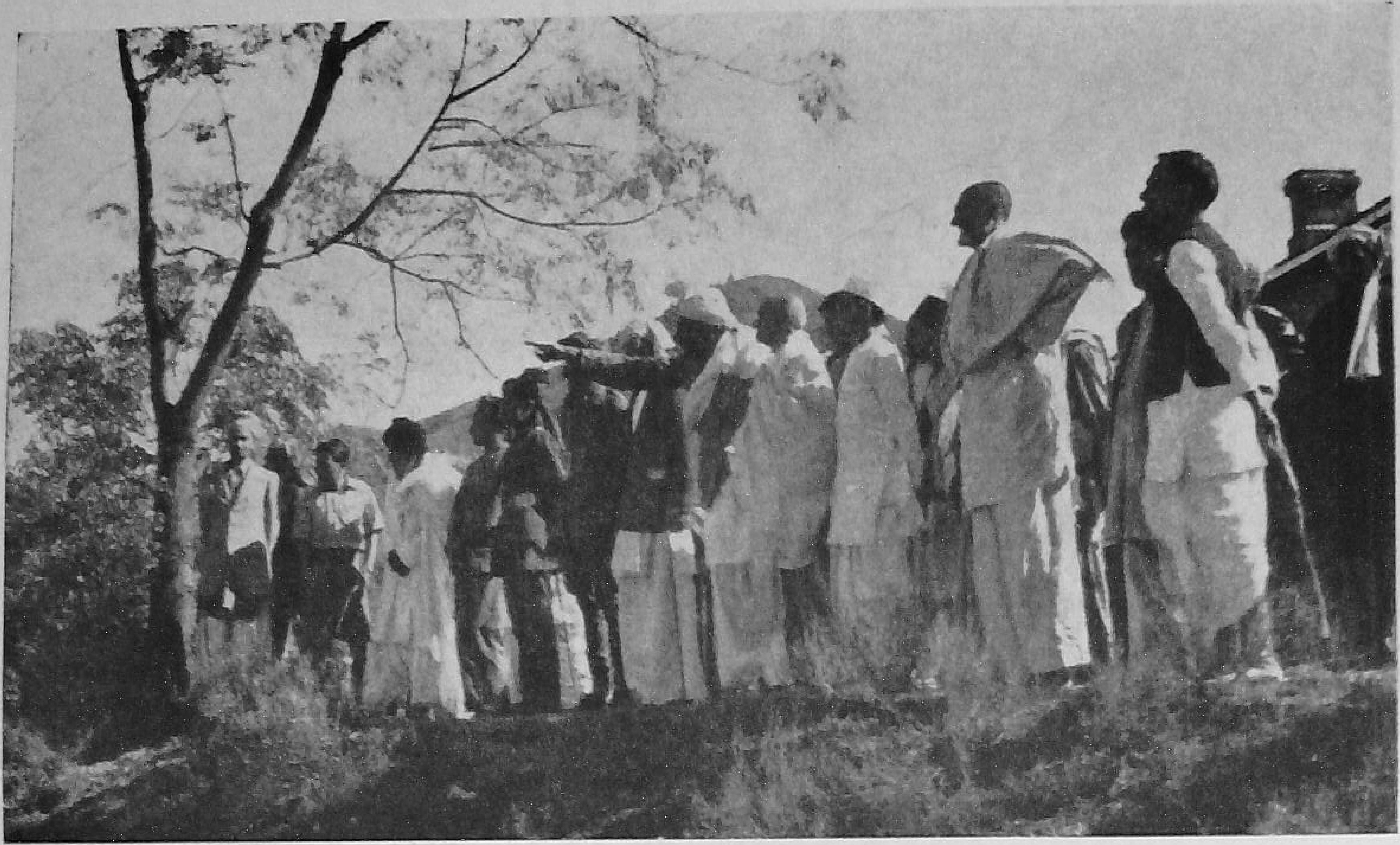
"This is how the whole tour struck a very well-known Pathan who met me during the last days of the tour:

'I like what you are doing. You are very clever (I do not know that cunning is not the right word). You are making my people braver than they are. You are teaching them to husband their strength. Of course it is good to be non-violent up to a point. That they will be under your teaching. Hitler has perfected the technique of attaining violent ends without the actual use of violence. But you have bettered even Hitler. You are giving our men training in non-violence, in dying without killing, so if ever the occasion comes for the use of force, they will use it as never before and certainly more effectively than any other body of persons. I congratulate you.' I was silent and I had no heart to write out a reply to disillusion him. I smiled and became pensive. I like the compliment that the Pathans would be braver than before (as a result of and) under my teaching. I do not know an instance of a person becoming a coward under my influence. But the friend's deduction was deadly. If in the last heat the Khudai Khidmatgars prove untrue to the creed they profess to believe, non-violence was certainly not in their hearts. The proof will soon come. If they zealously and faithfully follow the constructive programme, there is no danger of their fulfilling the prognostication of the critic. But they will be found among the bravest of men when the test comes."

CHAPTER XIV

MORE SERMONS ON NON-VIOLENCE

Unlike the trans-Indus Districts of Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, the cis-Indus District of Hazara is not predominantly Pathan in its population nor is the Pathan element here as unmellowed as in the other districts. Comprised of the hilly tracts of Manshera and Abottabad and the well-watered *Tahsil* of Haripur, the district is more or less co-extensive with the territory of Takshashila which was once a flourishing cis-Indus Hindu kingdom with its capital at Taxila, the seat of the famous university to which "flocked students not only from the farthest corners of India but also from places beyond the Gobi desert in Central Asia." Gandhiji's programme in the district included visits to the headquarters of all the three *tahsils*. Arriving at Abbottabad from Haripur on the morning of 7th November several hours before the scheduled time, he took his host Rai Bahadur Paramanand by surprise. Situated at a height of 4,102 feet above sea level, and surrounded by the indescribable beauty of the Kagan valley on the northern and the girdle of snow-capped peaks on the Manshera side, Abbottabad is a charming little spot but for its past associations. There are not many places in India that have paid such a heavy price for their first lesson in non-violence as Abbottabad had to during the Khilafat days. And even today a casual ramble about the town served to bring home to the visitor the painful fact that here, as in many another hill station in India, the civilian inhabitant was the underdog in his own home. All the choicest places were reserved for the military and the ruling caste. I was shown one instance where an Indian gentleman was not permitted to occupy his own bungalow in the civil lines, because the two adjacent bungalows on either side of it, also his property, had been rented out to *saheblogs* who



Kanu Gandhi

TAXILA — DISTANT VIEW

" Where the Macedonian met more than his match."

p. 160.

would not tolerate the presence of a mere 'native' in their midst!

In his village home Badshah Khan is popularly known as the *fakir*, as his heart is always with the poor. The meaning of it was vividly brought home to us when early one morning he took out some members of the party for a little mountain climbing. "We must watch the sunrise from that mountain top," he insisted as he dragged us out willy nilly into the nipping morning cold. The spectacle presented by the russet mountain sides bathed in the glory and freshness of the early winter morning was most inspiring, while the panorama of terraced cultivation, which rose tier upon tier from the gloomy depths of the valleys below to the dizzy pine-clad tops of the surrounding hills, vividly set forth before one the ultimate triumph of the principle of non-violence in the form of patient industry and co-operation of millions of human hands in the obstinate duel against nature that goes on everlastingly among these hills. Badshah Khan took us to one of these terraced fields to show us with what infinite toil the work of preparing bare, stony mountain-sides for cultivation is carried out. The struggle proceeds slowly, painfully, inch by inch. It may take years to remove the boulders with the unaided labour of the hand from a narrow, little strip of the field. And yet as soon as the land begins to yield something, the state steps in to claim land revenue. "It is a most iniquitous and heartless practice," broke out Badshah Khan. "If I had the power I would grant subsidy for this kind of reclamation work instead of taxing it. This is shameless grab."

There was a solitary peasant hut in the midst of the field. Badshah Khan insisted that my sister, Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who accompanied us should visit the peasant family in the hut and see whether they needed any medical help. And when she presently returned and told him how she had suggested a simple remedy to one of the family who was suffering from a minor malady, his joy knew no bounds. "Mahatmaji, I hate politics," he had repeated to Gandhiji more than once during the tour. "It

is an empty and barren maze. I wish to run away from it and to occupy myself with humanitarian service of the poorest in their homes." On our way back we suddenly found him missing from the party. He had accidentally found an occupation after his heart. A young Pathan lad was driving an ass loaded with stones. The ass had stumbled and the load had slipped off its back. Noticing his struggles to replace the stones upon the animal's back, Badshah Khan had stopped to help him. He invited the rest of the party too to come and help. They all came and soon the load was replaced on the animal's back. At the end of it, as he wended his way home, it was with a distinct feeling of satisfaction that he had begun the day in a manner worthy of a Khudai Khidmatgar.

All the important events in the programme at Abbottabad were crowded into the second day of Gandhiji's stay. At Manshera there was a public meeting on the 8th of November at which an address on behalf of the inhabitants of Manshera was presented to Gandhiji and another on behalf of the Kisan Committee, Manshera. The latter drew Gandhiji's attention to and prayed for speedy abolition of some amazingly ante-diluvian and oppressive features of the land tenure system in certain parts of Manshera *Tahsil*. For instance, under it (i) hereditary-occupancy tenants had to pay to the landlord from As. 4 to As. 12 in the rupee as *malikana* (ownership fee) over and above the land revenue; (ii) they had to furnish *begar* (forced labour) for a certain number of days in the year without any compensation (The quota of *begar*, however, was not fixed according to the size of the holding but varied with the number of incumbents among whom it might be divided. To take an illustration, supposing five hands was the quota of *begar* fixed for a holding of 40 *kanals*. Then, if on the death of the landlord the holding was subdivided among eight sons of the landlord, each one of them would claim from the occupancy holder free labour of five hands by way of *begar* ; (iii) inheritance in land went all to the sons ; daughters were completely excluded. In addition to it the address mentioned a number of

abwabs or illegal exactions and instances of chicanery, fraud and oppression resorted to by the landlords against the cultivators. All that Gandhiji could say about these revelations was that even if a fraction of them were true, they constituted a disgraceful anachronism which ought not to continue any longer, especially when there was a Congress Ministry.

The address on behalf of the general public of Manshera was perhaps the most remarkable presented to Gandhiji throughout his tour. It contained among other things the following significant words: "You will understand and allow for a little pardonable pride on our part for the way in which we, of the Frontier Province, have taken up and translated into practice your gospel of non-violence. Violence used to be our main preoccupation in life till Badshah Khan, the pride of the Afghans, weaned us from it. Non-violence may have no special significance for those who are born into that creed. But for us Pathans it has provided the specific which we so badly needed for our ills. The Pathan is therefore particularly fitted to understand and appreciate its worth. Islam promulgated peace, i.e., non-violence as the rule of life and permitted the use of force only as an exception. But the Pathan, like the rest of the Mussulmans, had allowed the exception to usurp the place of the central principle and almost forgotten the central teaching. It was for you, sir, to take us back to this central doctrine which we had nearly lost sight of. We assure you that in a very short time the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province will, without distinction of caste, creed or religion, come to constitute the spear-head of India's non-violent fight for freedom."

Gandhiji replying assured them that he set great store by what they had already achieved in the field of non-violence. But believing as he did in the old adage, that from him who has, much more is expected, he warned them that he would not rest satisfied till they had fulfilled their mission of achieving through their non-violence not only their own freedom but the freedom of

India. He had visited their province a second time to know them more intimately and to understand how non-violence worked in their midst, and it was his intention to return to them a third time, when he hoped once more to pick up the threads of various problems where he had left them.

Speaking to the Khudai Khidmatgars earlier, he had explained to them that the basis of all non-violent activity was or should be love : " It is not enough not to hate the enemy. One should feel in one's heart warmth of fellow-feeling towards him. It has become the fashion these days to say that society cannot be organized or run on non-violent lines. I join issue on that point. In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child, the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of offended love which he senses behind it. That in my opinion is an epitome of the way in which society is or should be governed. What is true of the family must be true of society which is but a larger family. It is man's imagination that divides the world into warring groups of enemies and friends. In the ultimate resort it is the power of love that acts even in the midst of the clash and sustains the world.

" I am told that the Red Shirts here are Red Shirts only in name. I hope the allegation is baseless. I know that Badshah Khan is seriously disturbed at the infiltration of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement with undesirable and self-seeking elements. I share with him his feeling that mere accession of numbers, unless they are true exponents of the creed which they profess, will only weaken instead of adding strength to the movement.

" The Red Shirt movement today has drawn the attention of the whole of India and even outside. And yet what it has achieved is only a small fraction of what still remains to be achieved. I implicitly accept the assurance given by the Khudai Khidmatgars that they are anxious to understand and practise the doctrine of non-violence in full. There are tremendous heights before them to be

scaled. The programme of constructive non-violence that I have placed before them is self-acting when once it is well started. Its enforcement will be a sure test, too, of the earnestness and sincerity of the Khudai Khidmatgars."

Returning to Abbottabad in the afternoon, Gandhiji paid a visit to the local Harijan temple and was pleased to learn that in Abbottabad at least the Harijans suffered under no disabilities in respect of the admission of their children to schools and the use of wells and other public amenities. He also visited the Govind Girls' School which was the fruit of the labour of love of our hostess at Abbottabad.

The minorities' deputation met Gandhiji in the afternoon to discuss with him the difficulties and disabilities of the minorities in the North-West Frontier Province. What disturbed them particularly was that the incidence of violent crime had steadily increased since the constitution of the North-West Frontier Province into a separate province. They suggested that in view of the growing menace of insecurity, firearms and training in their use ought to be provided free to the minority population settled on the border, to facilitate self-protection. They agreed, however, that the problem of trans-border raids could be finally and adequately solved only by the majority community being awakened to its sense of duty towards the minority community. Gandhiji in reply told them that whilst he could support their demand that licences for keeping firearms should be freely issued on application, it would be too much to expect the Government to distribute firearms free amongst the entire border population. They could raise a fund for free distribution of firearms if they wanted, but he had his doubts whether free distribution of and training in the use of firearms would solve the question of trans-border insecurity. If the experience during the recent raid at Bannu was any guide, such a step would prove to be an expensive pedantry. During the Bannu raid, he was told, only one gun on the part of the citizens was in play although there

was no lack of firearms in the city at the time of the raid and even that gun caused more casualties among the public than among the raiders. He, however, agreed with them in regard to what they had observed about the duty of the majority community. Badshah Khan was trying to prepare the Khudai Khidmatgars for discharging their duty of protecting citizens against raids.

The deputationists discussed several other things with Gandhiji, who told them they had better discuss them with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad * and perhaps with Babu Rajendraprasad, † who were deputed by the Working Committee to visit the Frontier Province.

A few remarks in connection with the position of these minority elements in the North-West Frontier Province at the time of Gandhiji's visit would not be out of place here. The total population of the North-West Frontier Province was then 24.7 *lakhs*, out of which 22.5 *lakhs* were Mussulmans, 1.5 *lakhs* Hindus, 47.9 thousand Sikhs, 16.4 thousand Christians, 62 Parsees, 11 Jews and 3 Buddhists. Expressed in percentages the population of Mussulmans varied from 95 per cent in the Hazara District to 86 per cent in Dera Ismail Khan. Money-lending and trade were predominantly in the hands of Hindus and Sikhs, who in the past, owing to their better education, held more than their share in public services. Of late, they had been exposed to growing Muslim competition, and competition had brought in its train the spirit of rivalry, which in its turn served further to provoke the nemesis that inevitably follows success. The successful Rai Bahadur who accumulated a vast fortune out of his military contracts naturally excited the greed of the trans-border Waziri and Mahsud raider, who justified to himself his predatory activity by conveniently equating the rich man with the agent who helped to equip the military machine that led expeditions into tribal terri-

* The leader of the Nationalist Indian Muslims. He was later elected President of the Congress.

† Member of the Congress Working Committee, at present President of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

tory. To the Mussulman politician, Congressite or otherwise, he gave ground for the complaint that whilst he made his fortune in their province and claimed protection and special privileges as a member of the minority community, he was anxious only to bask in the sunshine of official favour and never showed any inclination to help any progressive cause either with money or personal service. Talent and efficiency in members of a minority community are likely to become a trap and a snare unless they are joined to a spirit of altruistic service. The majority community will soon learn to love and treasure them if they use their superior talents and efficiency for service of the province of their adoption. They will only arouse antagonism if their superior talents and efficiency are only cited as an argument for grabbing more positions of vantage and power.

At one place it was complained that the Hindus and Sikhs regarded contact with the Mussulmans as polluting. This, Gandhiji pointed out, if true, was a travesty of true religion. An equal regard and reverence for faiths other than one's own is a duty everywhere and always. But, in the case of a microscopic minority that is placed in the midst of an overwhelming majority holding a different faith from its own, it becomes the primary condition of its existence. If, however, it is a virtue of necessity for the minority community, to hold in due respect the faith and feelings of the majority community, it should be the privilege and duty of the majority community to show scrupulous regard for the faiths and feelings of the minorities.

What gave the keenest satisfaction to Gandhiji was the fact that throughout the tour not even the bitterest critics of Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry charged the Khan Brothers with harbouring communal bias or questioned their sincerity.

CHAPTER XV

THE SHADOW OF PARTING

The programme at Abbottabad concluded with a public meeting at which several addresses and a consolidated purse of Rs. 1,125 were presented to Gandhiji on behalf of the whole district. Piquancy was added to the proceedings by the circumstance that the framers of the address had allowed their pen to run away with their feelings and indulged in language of wild hyperbole to greet Gandhiji, whom they described as "the greatest man on earth". Gandhiji in a reply which was full of delicate banter gave them a severe castigation, for their use of unbalanced language, which they should remember for the rest of their lives. "I thank you for the address that you have presented to me," he began. "You have in your address expressed your gratification at having in your midst 'the greatest man on earth'. I wondered as I listened to your address as to who that 'greatest man' could be. Certainly it could not be I. I know my shortcomings but too well. There is a celebrated story about Solon the great law-giver of Athens. He was asked by Croesus, who was reputed to be the wealthiest man of his age, to name the happiest man on earth. Croesus had fondly hoped that Solon would name him. But Solon replied that he could say nothing as no one could be adjudged happy before his end." "If," continued Gandhiji, "Solon found it difficult to pronounce on a man's happiness during his lifetime, how much more difficult it must be to adjudge a man's greatness? True greatness is not found set upon a hill, for the vulgar crowd to gaze at. On the contrary, my seventy years' experience has taught me that the truly great are often those of whom and of whose greatness the world knows nothing during their lifetime. God alone is judge of true greatness, because He alone knows men's hearts."

Quoting again from the address he continued his vivisection : " Not only the inhabitants of Abbottabad, but even the sun, the moon and the stars here were eager to have a glimpse of me ! Am I to understand, my good friends, that your city has all to itself a separate set of sun, moon and stars which do not shine upon Wardha or Sevagram ? In Kathiawad we have a class of people known as *bhats* or professional bards who make it their job to sing the praises of their chieftains for money. Well, I won't call you *bhats* — mercenaries ! " (*A voice from the audience* : ' We had instead to pay money along with the address ! ') But Gandhiji was not to be put off so easily. He continued, " Banter apart, I want you to realize that it is wrong to indulge in hyperbolic praises of your leaders. It neither helps them nor their work. I would like you once for all to forget this practice of presenting laudatory addresses. At three score and ten, I for one, have no desire to let what little time God has still left me to be frittered away in listening to hyperbolic balderdash. If an address must be presented I would like it to be descriptive of the defects and shortcomings of the recipient of the address so that he might be helped to turn the searchlight inward and weed them out.

" Ever since my arrival in this province I have been trying to expound to the Khudai Khidmatgars the doctrine of non-violence in all its uncompromising completeness, abating nothing, holding back nothing. I do not claim to have understood the meaning of non-violence in its entirety. What I have realized is only a small and insignificant fraction of the great whole. It is not given to imperfect man to grasp the whole meaning of non-violence or to practise it in full. That is an attribute of God alone, the Supreme Ruler who suffers no second. But I have constantly and ceaselessly striven for over half a century to understand non-violence and to translate it into my own life. The Khudai Khidmatgars have no doubt set a brilliant example in the practice of non-violence, to the extent to which they have understood it. It has earned for them universal admiration. But they have

now to move a step further. Their conception of non-violence has to be broadened and their practice of it, especially in its positive aspects, to be made fuller and deeper, if they are to come out successful in the final heat. Non-violence is not mere disarmament. Nor is it the weapon of the weak and the impotent. A child who has not the strength to wield the *lathi* does not practise non-violence. More powerful than armaments, non-violence is a unique force that has come into the world. He who has not learnt to recognize in it a weapon infinitely more potent than brute force has not understood its true nature. This non-violence cannot be 'taught' by word of mouth. But it can be kindled in our heart through the grace of God, in answer to earnest prayer. It is stated that today there are one *lakh* of Khudai Khidmatgars who have adopted non-violence as their creed. But before them as early as 1920, Badshah Khan had come to recognize in non-violence a weapon, the mightiest in the world, and his choice was made. Eighteen years of practice of non-violence have only strengthened his faith in it. He has seen how it has made his people fearless and strong. The prospect of losing a paltry job used to unnerve them. They feel different beings today. At three score and ten, my faith in non-violence today burns brighter than ever. People say to me, 'Your programme of non-violence has been before the country now for nearly two decades, but where is the promised independence ?' My reply is that although the creed of non-violence was professed by millions, it was practised by but a few and that, too, as a policy only. But with all that the result that has been achieved is sufficiently striking to encourage me to carry on the experiment with the Khudai Khidmatgars, and God willing, it will succeed."

Gandhiji left Abbottabad to return to Sevagram on the morning of 9th November. On his way, he paid a visit to the famous archaelogical remains of Taxila. The journey was done under the shadow of impending parting. Four weeks of the closest communion in the common quest of non-violence had brought Gandhiji ever so much closer

to Badshah Khan and his Old Guard of Khudai Khidmatgars. Badshah Khan was busy settling in consultation with Gandhiji, final details about his future programme of work and sighed that the fresh commitments into which he was about to enter left little chance of realizing his long-cherished dream of a Bohemian ramble among the enchanting hills of Shawal and Swat : " Mahatmaji, this is what I have been telling the Khudai Khidmatgars since your arrival. 'You have made the cause of the poor your own. But what have you done to remove their poverty? You have pledged yourself never to retaliate, but have you gone among your opponents and tried to win them by your love?'" He narrated to Gandhiji a few of his experiences which showed how deep the spirit of non-violence had burnt itself into him. A Mussulman friend from the Punjab had found himself in his company during a train journey. "He was full of denunciation of me saying that I had undermined the spirit of Islam by preaching non-violence to the Pathans. I told him that he knew not what he was saying and that he would never have talked like that if he had seen with his own eyes, the wonderful transformation that the message of non-violence has worked in the midst of the Pathans, to whom it has given a new vision of national solidarity. I cited chapter and verse from the Quran to show the great emphasis that Islam has laid on Peace, which is its coping stone. I also showed to him how the greatest figures in Islamic history were known more for their forbearance and self-restraint than for their fierceness. The reply rendered him speechless."

He then described how on another occasion he was accused of having a *lashkar* of one *lakh* of Khudai Khidmatgars to help the Hindus to subdue the Mussulman population. "I was advised by several friends to issue a contradiction of the gross libel. But I refused. 'I have not yet sufficiently penetrated the Frontier masses,' I told them. To them what I might say will probably be on a par with what anybody else might tell them till, as a result of our selfless service, they learn

to know gold from tinsel. I shall wait." He mentioned to Gandhiji an incident of non-co-operation days in the North-West Frontier Province which reads like a little epic of non-violence. At Charsadda the Khudai Khidmatgars had organized a public meeting. Before long the military arrived on the scene and ordered them to disperse, which they refused to do. A *lathi* charge was then ordered and was followed by the order to open fire. But all that had little effect. The people refused to budge and remained sitting unperturbed. The military were taken aback. They were not prepared for such calm determination on the part of the fiery Pathan. They stopped firing after the first few rounds. A big crowd had formed round them. His nephew Saadulla Khan was there. "What is it you want?" the officer commanding asked him. "Nothing," replied Saadulla, Dr. Khan Saheb's son. "Allow us to depart. Give us way," fumbled out the military officer. And they passed out unhurt through the vast mass of people.

CHAPTER XVI

PESHAWAR KHADI EXHIBITION

In view of the central place which Gandhiji assigned to *khadi* and organization of cottage industries in the scheme of non-violence, he agreed to perform the opening ceremony of a *khadi* exhibition at Peshawar, the first of its kind in the North-West Frontier Province, that was organized by the Punjab Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association. The exhibition was held with the full support and co-operation of the Frontier Government. Among those who rendered particular help were the Minister in charge of Industries, and the various officials connected with Health, Industries, Agriculture and Prison Departments. The Khudai Khidmatgars supplied a corps of volunteers. All the Ministers and a large section of the gentry, especially the ladies, attended the exhibition.

Premier Khan Saheb and Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, the agent of the Punjab branch of the All-India Spinners' Association, in their joint address introducing the All-India Spinners' Association, made some striking remarks which are worth pondering over.

"The All-India Spinners' Association has over 600 production centres and sale *bhandars* (depots) in different parts of India and Burma. It was serving 6,029 villages in different parts of the country in the year 1932; in the year 1937 their number increased to 10,280. In the current year (1938-1939) the number of villages served will be somewhere near 20,000 at least. During the year 1936 there were 1,13,489 registered spinners and weavers working under the Association; in the year 1937 the figure rose to 1,91,094. In the current year the number of registered spinners and weavers working under the Association will come to nearly 4,00,000. The total production in the year 1936 was 23,75,694 yards while in the year 1937 it rose to 30,15,339. During the half year ending

June 30th in the current year the production has been over 24 *lakhs* of rupees and the figure is sure to go over 50 *lakhs* of rupees. In the year 1937 seven *lakhs* of rupees were distributed by way of wages and this is likely to be at least doubled this year.

"Bombay and Ahmedabad mills with a capital of over 50 crores of rupees are providing labour for 1,75,000 men while the All-India Spinners' Association with a capital of 25 *lakhs* is providing labour for over 1,60,000 men (excluding workers employed by certified centres). Further, while it requires only Re. 1/- to Rs. 3/- to buy a spinning wheel and give employment to a worker, it needs Rs. 60/- to put up one spindle in a mill, and one man can manage 200 spindles. So that a sum of Rs. 12,000 will be necessary to give employment to one man.

"The following telling figures would illustrate the strides that the country has taken towards the goal of self-sufficiency under the inspiration provided by the *khadi* movement, during the Civil Disobedience movement:

"Production in Indian mills in 1920-21, before the Civil Disobedience movement, was 158 crores of square yards of cloth worth 63 crores of rupees. In 1921-22, after the inauguration of Civil Disobedience, it stood at 173 crores of square yards. The figure stood at 242 crores of square yards in 1929-30. In 1930-31 it shot up to 256 square yards. As against this the figure for cloth imported from foreign mills in 1920-21 was 141 crore square yards worth 80 crores of rupees. In 1921-22 it dropped to 98 crore yards worth 40 crores of rupees. In 1929-30, it again shot up to 242 crore square yards but after the resumption of Civil Disobedience in 1930-31, it again dropped down to 81 crore square yards and further declined to 69 crore square yards in 1931-32."

Still more striking was Premier Khan Saheb's reply to those critics who have tried to dub the Association as a communal organization: "Our critics have sometimes remarked that the Charkha Sangh is merely a

Hindu organization. The following figures giving the communal proportion will show that people of all communities without distinction are working under the Association :

	Spinners	Weavers	Total
Hindus	1,07,150	5,529	1,12,679
Muslims	50,238	3,862	54,100
Harijans	15,940	3,702	19,842
Other communities	335	—	335
Total	1,73,663	13,093	1,86,956

" Within the last 13 years of its existence, although only a very meagre proportion of our people have yet taken seriously to *khadi*, it has distributed over Rs. 4,00,00,000 in wages. How wonderful the result must be if all or even a good majority take to it."

Referring next to the neighbouring non-Congress Government of the Punjab,* Doctor Khan Saheb concluded : " The Punjab Government which, by the way, is no Congress Government, has been forced, by the logic of facts, to accept *khadi* as the only specific for famine relief. In Hissar, it has sanctioned Rs. 25,000 for organizing spinning centres and I understand they are going to increase the amount further.

" The day is not far when the most sceptical will be forced to admit that the *charkha* is the only specific for India's economic ills." Dr. Khan Saheb ended with a passionate exhortation to establish a *khadi* centre in every town and village of the North-West Frontier Province.

Gandhiji in his written message in Hindustani, which was printed and distributed among the visitors, made some incisive observations on Swadeshi. " Do not be misled by names," he warned his hearers. " A piece of Japanese cloth cannot become Swadeshi merely by being

* There was a Coalition Unionist Ministry in the Punjab at that time.

labelled 'Swadeshi'. Only an article which is wholly manufactured in India by the labour of India's millions living in the villages and out of raw materials grown in India deserves the name of Swadeshi.

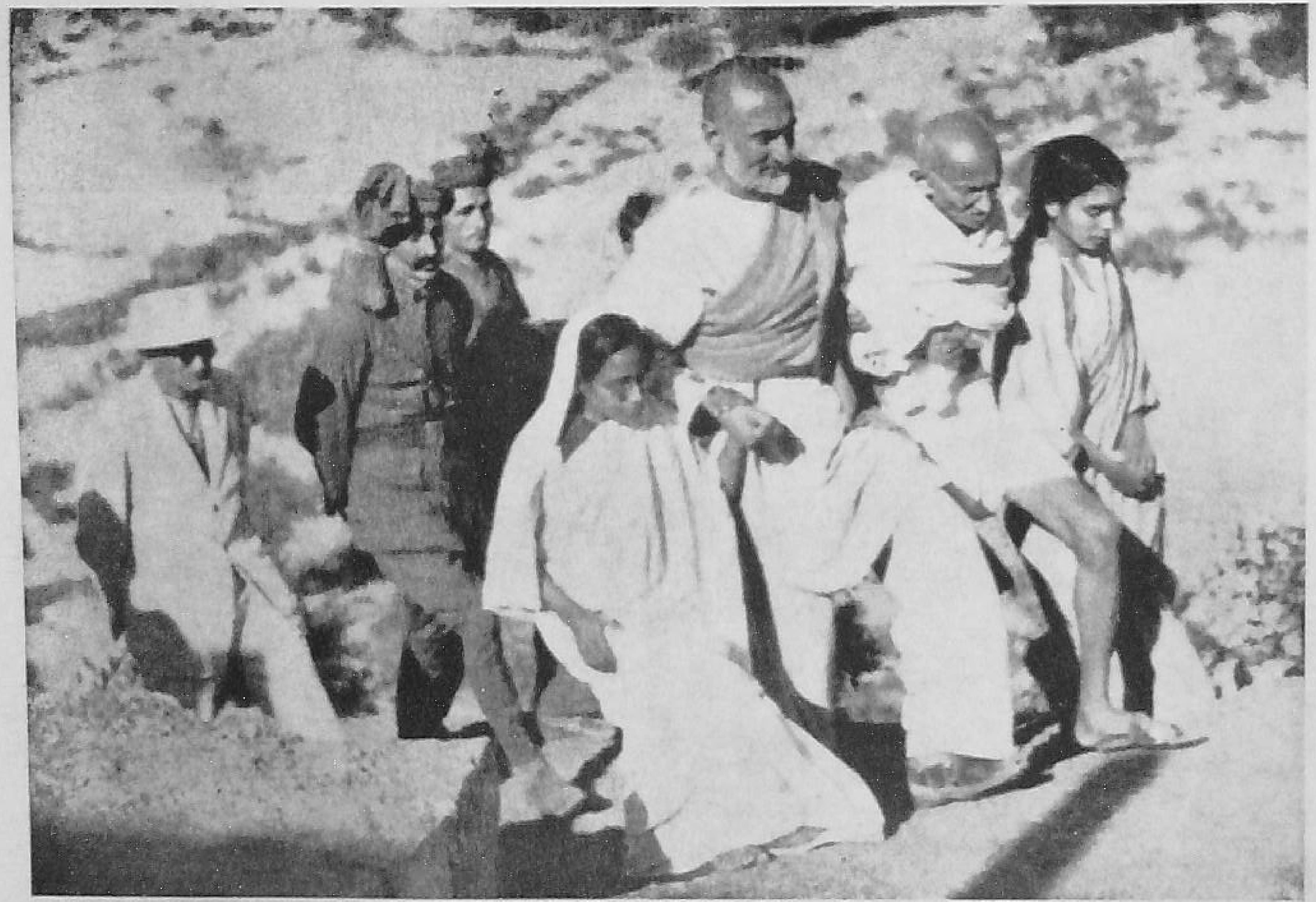
"*Khadi* alone, it will be seen, fully satisfies this test; all other cloth is a travesty of Swadeshi. Just as there can be no dawn without the sun, so there can be no genuine Swadeshi without *khadi*.

"Judged by this test, Peshawar is left far behind in the race for Swadeshi. There is only one *Khadi* Bhandar here and that too is being run at a loss. I hope that one result of this Exhibition will be to put the *Khadi* Bhandar on a firm footing and to preclude the possibility of its having to close down."

Declaring the exhibition open, in his oral remarks Gandhiji gave some plain talk to the Frontier Ministers and Congress M. L. A.'s for not wearing *khadi*. "Dr. Gopichand," he observed, "has thanked the Ministers for the help that they are giving to *khadi* work. But I find that neither all the Ministers nor all Congress M.L.A.'s here use *khadi* as habitual wear. Some wear it only in the Assembly. Some do not do that even. This is contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the Congress Constitution. Even the red shirts have yet to become *khadi* shirts......if they all take to *khadi*, the one *lakh* of them will in less than no time make the whole province *khadi*-clad. This province is rich in the resources for the manufacture of *khadi* but it comes last in respect of *khadi* work actually done.

"I would like you all to visit the Exhibition in a spirit of enquiry and study. Organization of *khadi* production, unlike textile mill industry, does not require *lakhs* of capital and highly specialized technical skill. Even a layman can take it up. I hope that this first *Khadi* Exhibition in the Frontier Province will be followed by many more in the near future."

The Exhibition was held in a school building which was tastefully decorated with arches and buntings. Stalls and boxes were improvised by ingeniously putting to-



Kanu Gandhi

TAXILA — VISITING BUDDHIST MONASTERY OF JAULIAN

"You have yet only arrived at the portal of non-violence......
How much greater your achievement will be when you
have entered its holy edifice!"

p. 60.

gether tables, writing desks, and benches. The walls of the *khadi* court were hung with instructive mottoes explaining the economics of *khadi*; and statistics of prices of different varieties of *khadi* and an analysis of their cost of production to show that in *khadi* activity there could be no scope for profiteering. The latest patterns of *khadi* from the finest Andhra to thick bed clothing from upper India and all the various lines from coating to *saris*, chintzes and prints from all parts of India were duly represented. Local manufactures were represented by a fair variety of woollens, elegant embroidered *chugas* (overcoats of indigenous designs) and Swati blankets which are amazingly cheap for their quality, and stuffs from the Kagan valley in the Hazara District and Chitral, which owing to very soft fleece that is found there showed the immense possibilities of the development of woollen industries in these parts.

The last day was set apart as the 'Ladies' Day' when the *khadi* court proved itself to be so popular as to take the organization by storm. They came in their thousands, a fair sprinkling among them with notebooks and pencils in hand and showed keen interest in *khadi* by taking down texts of the more striking of the *khadi* mottoes. The sales exceeded all expectations and all lines in the ladies' section were exhausted, more having had to be indented telegraphically from the Punjab. In the meantime the gentlemen's printed turban stuff was requisitioned for feminine wear!

Next to the *khadi* court in popularity was the technical court where all the processes involved in the manufacture of *khadi* were demonstrated. Of special interest was a modified spindle-holder which took in a bare spindle turned by a resin-coated string. It cost only five annas and increased the revolutions of the old style Punjabi *charkha* from 50 to 140.

Paper manufacture and different varieties of palm and cane *gur* were shown in still another section. The Government departments of Health, Agriculture and Industries also had brought their exhibits. A comparative

study of a clean and well-planned village and an ill-planned unclean one was provided in clay models. There were also clay models of a village house, an orchard and cultivated fields.

Entrance to the exhibition was free. This as Gandhiji pointed out to the organizers was a mistake, as payment of even a nominal fee is found to go a long way towards ensuring a measure of genuine interest. The rush on the first day was so great that admission had to be closed to all except women. Even so there was a lot of gate-crashing and window smashing. The *khadi* sale for the six days amounted to over Rs. 4,400/- which was remarkable, considering that the average annual sale of *khadi* over the last decade in the local *Khadi* Bhandar had never gone beyond Rs. 6,000/-.

The expenses of the Exhibition, leaving aside the essential expenses, i. e. on railway fare, freight, octroi, etc., amounted to only Rs. 220/-. Out of this should be deducted the expenses on decorations, mottoes and charts as these were permanent assets whose use would not cease with the Exhibition.

CHAPTER XVII

TAXILA — I

THE PAST SPEAKS

"Where there is no knowledge of the past,
There is no vision of the future."

— Rafael Sabitini

The past is always before us. Again and again, in the endless spiral of human progress, we look down from different heights upon the same familiar milestones.

"Trembling at that at which we stood before"

Those below provide the key to those that lie ahead. The substance is the same, the context is different. It only needs humility and receptivity of mind to unlock the secret. To stand, for instance, on top of Mount Pisagh, like Fielding King Hall, a thousand feet above the northern entrance to the Khyber, and look across eighty miles into Afghanistan up the Kabul river valley, is to hear the foot-falls of two thousand years. And what a tale of human tragedy, glamour and wild romance they unfold!

Gandhiji rounded off his tour of the Frontier Province by a visit to the ruins of Taxila before entraining at the railway station of that name for Wardha — and most appropriately, too. Indeed, the tour of the Frontier Province would have been incomplete without it. If four weeks of the closest communion with Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars were needed to bring home the fact that the non-violence movement of the Khudai Khidmatgars is not a mere excrescence of a temporary and passing phase, but is an organic development answering an inner necessity of their social existence, it needed a visit to Taxila to dispel another notion which is all but universal about the Pathans. It has been remarked by sceptics that non-violence is at best an exotic growth in the North-West Frontier Province with but little chance of flourishing

in that inhospitable soil. It is little realized that for over one thousand years, the flower of Buddhism flourished in these parts in all its pristine glory. The whole of the Swat and the Kabul river valleys and the region beyond and across Afghanistan right to Khotan, is strewn thick with the remains of *stupas*, monasteries and pillars, and Buddhist relics that tell their own tale. It was by way of Taxila and Gandahar that Northern Buddhism spread to China. And when the present-day Khudai Khidmatgar signs the pledge of non-violence in thought, word and deed, he is only following in the footsteps of his forbears who meditated over the meaning of अक्रोधेन जिने क्रोधम् (Let a man conquer anger with non-anger) in the cloistered peace of the ancient university town of Takshashila in the company of the Chinese pilgrim students who flocked there across the Gobi desert.

Thanks to the labours of Sir John Marshall and the amateur archaelogists like Crancroft, Delmerick and Cunningham before him, we can take a leap across the centuries and with a little imagination resurrect to ourselves in all its vivid and colourful detail this most fascinating page in the history of the Frontier Province. Twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi and immediately to the east and north-east of the railway junction of Taxila are the three distinct cities, the remains of ancient Takshashila as it was rebuilt and shifted from place to place in the course of time. There is a mention of Takshashila in the *Mahabharata* in connection with the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya. Arrian has referred to it as a great and flourishing university town — "the greatest indeed of all the cities which lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and famous at that time, and during the centuries immediately following, for its arts and sciences of the day."

In addition to these three city sites there are a number of detached monuments, mainly Buddhist *stupas* and monasteries, scattered over the face of the country. Of these Gandhiji visited the remains of the Buddhist monastery at Jaulian. Perched on the top of a hill 300 feet

high, this monastery at one time provided an ideal retreat to the members of the Buddhist Sangha and student pilgrims who had pledged themselves " to shun delights and live laborious days ". Its dominating position on the hill commanding a panorama, its calm seclusion, and its " cool and dustless " air must have appealed immensely to the aesthetic sense of these people who regarded free communion with nature in its unsoiled and unspoiled freshness as an essential aid to meditation. The monument consists of a monastery with two *stupa* courts on different levels. The *stupa* courts are open quadrangles with small alcoves and recesses running along the sides, and were intended to serve as shrines for cult images. In the monastery again the open quadrangle is surrounded by ranges of small cells for meditation and study. One sees here the kitchen where these people cooked their food, the refectory, bathroom, the wells at the bottom of the hill from where they fetched water, and the path by which they went to the contiguous town of Sirkush to obtain alms. In the cells may be seen the earthen pots and cups for drinking water left just as they were used by the inmates two thousand years ago. Some of the finest and best preserved specimens of Gandahar art are to be found in this monastery.

A short distance from it are the excavated remains of Sirkap, the second of the three successive city sites, where Takshashila stood in the early years of the second century B. C. It is surrounded by a stone wall 6,000 yards in circumference and from 15 to 20 feet thick. Up hill and down dale it straggles, enclosing within its perimeter three rocky and precipitous ridges of the Hathial spur, besides an isolated flat-topped hill. The city, according to Greek accounts, was as big as Nineveh and contained a temple of the Sun and a royal palace. It is laid out on a symmetrical plan. The streets are narrow and irregular after the style of Greek cities of those days. And the houses, we are told, had the appearance of being one-storied, but had in reality basement rooms underground. In 400 A. D. Fa Hien found the town, as well as the great

Buddhist sanctuaries around, still relatively vigorous and flourishing. The Buddhistic arts and culture reached their zenith in the period of the Mauryan Empire and fell before the ruthless and wanton destruction of white Huns after 455 A. D.

Viewing these remains after a tour of the relics in the museum that have been recovered from these excavations, one could easily picture to oneself in all its variegated detail the life that the people who once thronged those resounding streets and habited these dwellings lived — the clothes they wore, the brass and bell metal utensils they ate from or used for cooking. The grinding stones, pounding slabs and big earthen storage jars from 3 to 4 feet high, which were found intact and in position, were so exactly like their counterparts in use in Indian villages today that, if surreptitiously interchanged, they would defy detection. In the museum one found clay carts and toy soldiers and monks still warm, as it were, from the caresses of tiny innocent hands that played with them 2,000 years ago, the counterparts of which any village child of today could produce from his home. Similarly, the vessels and the rest of the paraphernalia that were employed in the performance of domestic ceremonies seemed so familiar as to make one feel that if by a trick of H. G. Wells' time machine, one could be transported back into that age and step into one of those homes while those ceremonies were on, one could take part in them without any feeling of strangeness. Even their little vanities have been handed down to us in the form of combs, mirrors, razors and such other articles of toilet, tiny round vermilion boxes and collyrium sticks and gold and silver jewellery. "Just like what my mother used to wear," exclaimed Gandhiji, with an affectionate sigh, as a pair of heavy silver anklets was shown to him by the curator!

What were these people's thoughts, the beliefs that they held, the customs and institutions which regulated their society? Strabo, Arrian and other Greek savants, who accompanied Alexander in his march

or followed in his wake, have left a contemporaneous account of the laws and customs and institutions into which the Buddhistic doctrine of non-violence blossomed forth here. Individual freedom occupied the central place in this social order. "Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians," records Arrian, "there is one prescribed by the ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable. For, the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom themselves, they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess. For those, they thought, who have learned neither to dominate over nor cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot, for it is but fair and reasonable to institute laws which bind all equally, while allowing property to be unequally distributed."

Special care was taken of foreigners and strangers, and their security was equally guaranteed with those of native citizens. Officers were appointed whose duty it was to see that no foreigner was wronged: "Should any of them lose health, they send physicians to attend him and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned with the greatest care and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them!"

Usury was unknown and complicated litigation not provided for by the laws. "The Indians," runs one of the classical texts unearthed by McCrindle, "neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities."

And thus another fragment: "Among the Indians, one who is unable to recover a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue!"

The practice of medicine was fairly common. But serious illness, particularly of a contagious nature, was

regarded as an uncleanness and corruption of the flesh to be terminated by self-immolation. Kalanos, the Indian sage, who fell from grace and accompanied Alexander on his march back from India, having got acute dysentery burnt himself to death by mounting on a funeral pyre in spite of the Macedonian's personal entreaties. "Cures," we are further told, "were effected rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed were ointments and plasters. All others were considered to be in a great measure pernicious."

While fighting was not altogether abolished, it was restricted rigorously to the warrior caste. The cultivator class, which was "far more numerous than the others", was exempted from fighting and other public service: "Nor would an enemy coming upon a husbandman at his work on his land, do him any harm, for men of this class being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land thus remaining unravaged and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all the requisites to make life enjoyable."

What a remarkable echo this of the following by Raverty about the present-day Frontier Pathans: "When fighting amongst each other the Pathans of these parts never interfere with or injure the helots of each other, nor do they injure their women or children, or their guests or strangers within the gates, and such might serve as an example to nations laying claim to a higher state of civilization."

Far away in Pataliputra, Kautilya the economist, migrating from his birthplace of Taxila, organized an economic system that was based upon the principle of "unto this last". Hear the following from his *Arthashastra*: "Those women who do not stir out of their houses, those whose husbands are gone abroad and those who are cripple, or girls may, when obliged to work for their subsistence, be provided with work (spinning out threads) in due courtesy through the medium of maid servants of a weaving establishment. Those women who can present themselves at the weaving house shall at dawn be enabled to

exchange their spinning for wages. Only so much light as be enough to examine the threads shall be kept. If the superintendent looks at the faces of such women or talks about any other work, he shall be punished with the first amercement. Delay in paying the wages shall be punished with uttermost amercement; likewise when wages are paid for work that is not completed."

About half a century later Taxila came under the operation of Asoka's edicts, some of which can be seen today at Shahbazgarh. Here are a few gleanings from them which might well serve as leading texts for the nations of the earth today: "The practice of virtue is difficult, but those who practise virtue perform what is difficult........To do evil is easy........Thirteen years after my anointment I have created ministers of religion (धर्म महामात्र). They mix with Warriors and with *Brahmins*, with the rich and the poor and the aged, the Yavanas, the Gandharvas and with other frontier (आप्रान्त) nations. They bring comfort to him who is in fetters, remove his obstacles and deliver him, because he has a family to support, because he has been the victim of deceit, and because he is bent with age."

The following is about the administration of public justice: "This is what I have done. At all moments, during meals, during repose, in the inner apartments, in the secret chamber, in my retreat in the garden, everywhere, officers entrusted with information about the affairs of my people come to me, and I despatch the concerns relating to my people. Thus I have directed that wherever there is a division, a quarrel, in the assembly of the clergy, it should always be reported to me, for there cannot be too much activity employed in the administration of justice........In incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good........All my endeavours have but this one object —to pay this debt due to my people."

Here is a present of a Frontier policy to those whom it may concern. Never was it needed more badly than today: "It is with this object that his religious inscription

has been engraved in order that our sons and grandsons may not think.......that conquest by the sword deserves the name of conquest, that they may see in it nothing but destruction and violence,........that the unsubdued borders should not be afraid of me, that they should trust me, and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow."

And the grandest of all is the following about religious toleration: "It is true the prevalence of essential virtues differs in different sects. But there is a common basis and that is gentleness and moderation in language. Thus one should not exalt one's own sect and decry the others. One should not deprecate them without cause, but should render them on every occasion the honour that they deserve. Striving thus, one promotes the welfare of one's own sect while serving others. Striving otherwise one does not serve his own sect and does disservice to others. And whoever, from attachment to his own sect and with a view to promote it, exalts it and decries others, only deals rude blows to his own sect. Hence concord alone is meritorious, so that all bear and love to bear the belief of each others."

Finally let me give the following text on authoritarianism in propagating religion: "The progress of religion among men is secured in two ways: by positive rules and by religious sentiments which one can inspire in them. Of these two methods, that of positive rules is of poor value; it is the inspiration in the heart that best prevails. Positive rules consist in what I order — when, for instance, I prohibit the slaughter of certain animals or lay down other religious rules as I have done to a large number. But it is wholly by a change in the sentiments of the heart, that religion makes a real advance in inspiring a respect for life. It is with this view that I have promulgated this inscription, in order that it may endure for my sons and my grandsons......For, by following this path one secures happiness here below, and in the other world. Wherever this Edict exists, on pillars of stone, let it endure unto remote ages."

To which one can only say 'Amen'.

CHAPTER XVIII

TAXILA — II

WHEN THE WORLD CONQUEROR MET HIS MATCH

Reluctantly Gandhiji took leave of the pageant of India's glorious past that lay spread out before him. Reflections crowded upon the mind thick and fast as the train hurried the party away from the scene. Twenty centuries have rolled by ; the wheel has come full circle and humanity is once again faced with the question of questions which, like the riddle of the Sphinx, it must answer to itself or perish. Is there a power that can be matched against the power of armaments ? What must prevail in the end — temporal might or the spirit of man ? It would be interesting to recall the answer to this poser that was furnished by Indian *sannyasis* three hundred years before the Christian era.

The story of the Greek invasion of India under Alexander the Great provides many an interesting footnote to Indian history. But nothing is perhaps of more absorbing interest today, owing to its symbolical value, than the story of the encounter between the Macedonian and the Indian sages in the valley of Taxila that has been faithfully and minutely recorded by various Greek historians.

The fighting gave occasion for much heroism on both sides, of which there was frank and mutual recognition. King Paurava (called by the Greek Porus), worsted in fight, more than regained what he had lost on the battlefield by his cool courage and fortitude in defeat. Being asked as to how he thought the victor should treat him, he replied, " With the lesson which this day teaches, a day on which you have witnessed how readily prosperity can be blasted." This spirited reply was appreciated by Alexander more, observes the historian, than an entreaty would have been.

Militarily it went well with the Greeks, and everything fell before the prowess of Alexander's arms. But the World Conqueror felt that he had met more than his match when he was confronted by men who baffled him by their dialectical skill and still another who, though unarmed, had rendered himself invulnerable, by virtue of his spiritual power against which no earthly weapon could prevail.

Near Peshawar, records the historian, Alexander captured ten *sannyasis* who were principally concerned in persuading King Sambhas to revolt and by infusing among the people an unconquerable spirit of resistance "had done much harm otherwise to Macedonians". He proposed for their solution some knotty conundrums with the condition that "he would put to death first the one whose answer was the poorest and then the others in order."

He demanded of the first which he took to be most numerous — the living or the dead. The answer was, "The living, for the dead are not."

The second was asked which bred the largest animals — the sea or the land. He answered, "The land, for the sea is only a part of it."

The third was asked which was the cleverest of beasts. He answered, "That with which man is not acquainted."

The fourth was asked for what reason he induced Sambhas to revolt. He replied, "Because I wished him to live with honour and die with honour."

The fifth was asked which he thought existed first — the day or the night. He answered, "The day was first by one day." As the King appeared surprised at this solution, he added, "Impossible questions require impossible answers."

Alexander, then turning to the sixth, asked him how a man could best make himself beloved. He replied, "If a man being possessed of great power did not make himself feared."

Of the remaining three, one being asked how a man could become a god, replied, " By doing that which is impossible for a man to do."

The next being asked which of the two was stronger — life or death, replied, "Life, because it bears so many evils."

The last being asked how long it was honourable for a man to live, answered, " As long as he does not think it better to die than to live."

Upon this Alexander, turning to the judge, requested him to give his decision. The judge said they had answered " each one worse than the other."

" Since such is your judgment," retorted Alexander, " you shall be yourself first to be put to death."

" Not so," said he, " O King, unless you are false to your word, for you said that he who gave the worst answer should be the first to die."

On arriving at Taxila, it is recorded, the Macedonian conceived a great desire that one of the sages should live with him, because he admired their patience and stoical fortitude in enduring hardships. Onesikritos, who was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes, was thereupon sent with a message from the King to Dandamis, the president and teacher of the order of *sannyasis* in that locality, to fetch him.

There is hardly a more arresting figure in early Indian history than this Indian sage who seems to combine in his person the passion of a Savanarola with the directness of Telemachus and a ripeness of wisdom and spiritual power which outdistance them both. Through ceaseless practice he had attained a complete self-mastery and detachment of spirit which made the pomp and panoply of emperors look pale in his presence and reminded one of the ancient *Upanishadic* text. आनंदं ब्रह्मणो विद्वान न बिमेति कदाचन। (The wise one who has realized the joy of *Brahma* knows naught of fear). The imperial messenger found the great sage stretched on a bed of leaves in a forest and held a discourse with him.

The trend of the sage's discourse was that the best philosophy was that which liberated the mind from pleasure and grief, that grief differed from labour, in that the former was pernicious, the latter friendly to man. Thereupon Onesikritos commented that Pythagoras taught a like doctrine and instructed his disciples to abstain from whatever had life; that Socrates and Diogenes, whose discourses he heard, held the same views. Dandamis replied that in other respects he thought them to be wise, but that they were mistaken "in preferring custom to nature," else they would not be ashamed to live on frugal fare and in uttermost simplicity. "For, that house is the best which requires least repairs." Introducing next the object of his visit Onesikritos began, "Hail to thee, thou teacher of *Brahmins*. The son of the mighty God Zeus, being Alexander who is the sovereign Lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great gifts, but if you refuse he will cut off your head."

The sage with a complaisant smile heard him to the end, "but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves," and whilst still retaining his recumbent attitude replied that he was also a son of Zeus if Alexander was such, that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's, for he was content with what he had, whilst he saw that the men with Alexander wandered over sea and land for no advantage and were never coming to the end of their wanderings: "Go and tell Alexander," he scornfully added, "that God the supreme King is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man and of soul, and these he receives when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil disease. He alone is the God of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is no God, since he must taste of death. How can such as he be the world's master, when he has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion?"

Moreover, had Alexander solved the riddle of death and life hereafter? "He has neither as yet entered living

into Hades, nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth, while the nations on its boundaries have not so much as heard his name." "If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desires," reprimanded the sage, "let him cross the Ganges river, and there he will find a region able to sustain all his men, if the country on this side is too narrow to hold him.

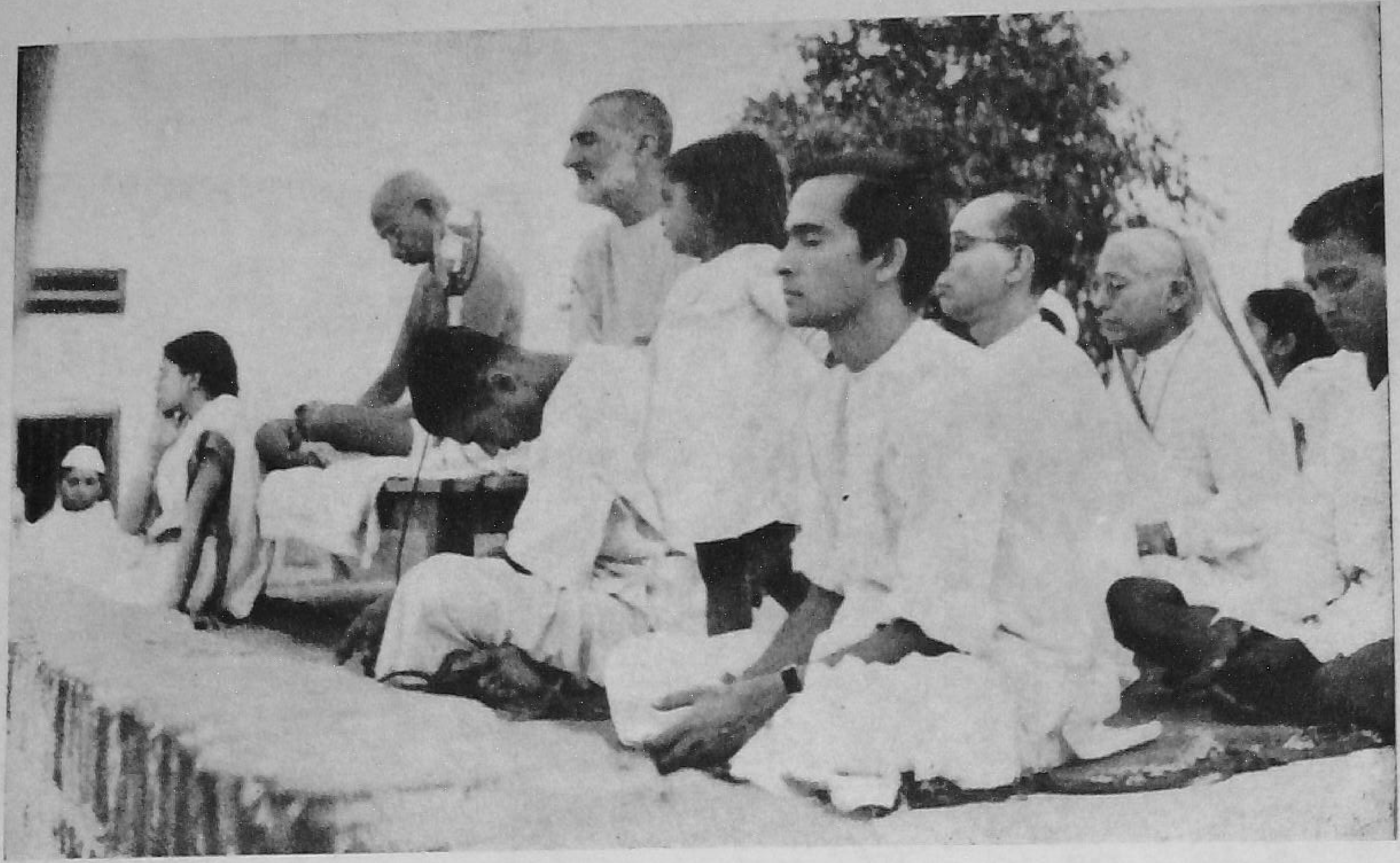
"Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me and the gifts he promises are things to me utterly useless; but the things which I prize and find of real use and worth are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with daily food, and the water which is my drink; while all other possessions and things which are amassed with anxious care are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me I lie upon the forest leaves, and having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I got anything to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself against my wish.

"Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone now silent will remain, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed me in flesh and left us upon earth to prove whether, when here below, we shall live obedient to His ordinances and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to His presence, an account of our life, since He is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishment of the oppressor.

"Let Alexander then terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the *Brahmins* neither love gold nor fear death.

"Go then and tell Alexander this: Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, and if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him."

Alexander on receiving from Onesikritos report of the interview "felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who though old and naked was the only antagonist in whom he, the conquerer of many nations, had met more than his match."



Hindustan Times

AT BHANGI NIWAS, NEW DELHI
DURING BRITISH CABINET MISSION'S VISIT (1945-46)
"A kindred spirit, a man of faith and prayer."
p. 40.

CHAPTER XIX

EPILOGUE

I

The Gathering Clouds

The march of events has rendered it necessary to add an epilogue to the foregoing, to follow it up to its poignant and strange sequel. In pursuance of the plan which he had hammered out in consultation with Gandhiji, Badshah Khan set up a centre at Sardaryab for the training of the Khudai Khidmatgars. At his request Gandhiji first sent Shrimati Mirabehn (Miss Slade) and then Bibi Amtus Salam (a Muslim lady who has joined his Ashram and become like a daughter to him) to help Badshah Khan especially in the work of education and social reform among Muslim women. In 1939 Gandhiji again visited the Frontier Province, but during the interval his health had suffered a serious setback and he was unable to tour the districts, or even to visit the Khudai Khidmatgar centre, and he had to postpone to some future date the consummation of his and Badshah Khan's dream of going and burying themselves among the Pathan folk and Khudai Khidmatgar trainees, to conduct the experiment of evolving the non-violence of the strong. But that was never to be.

On 3rd September, 1939, war was declared between England and France and the Axis Powers. On the 23rd of October the Congress decided to go into the wilderness and the Working Committee called upon the Congress Ministries to resign as a protest against India being declared a belligerent country without her consent, and the persistent refusal of the British Government to apply in her case the principles for which the war was professed to be fought. In obedience to that call the Congress Ministry

in the Frontier Province resigned on the 7th of November, the resignation being accepted a week later. No alternative Ministry could be formed following upon its resignation, and the Governor's rule under Section 93 of the 1935 Government of India Act was clamped down upon the province. (The deadlock continued till May, 1943.) On the 14th of October, 1940, after exhausting all efforts for an honourable settlement, the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership launched upon an individual Civil Disobedience campaign on the issue of No-Participation-in-War and for the vindication of the right of free speech. Events after that marched quick and fast, culminating in the August, 1942, 'Quit India' struggle.

Badshah Khan was a member of the Congress Working Committee when the latter made its famous 'Poona Offer' of conditional co-operation in the war effort which resulted in Gandhiji breaking away from it on the issue of *ahimsa*. Badshah Khan too then resigned from the Working Committee on the same issue. He was arrested and put into prison during the 'Quit India' struggle, as were Gandhiji and all other prominent Congressmen. Gandhiji was released in April, 1944. The face of things in the Frontier Province had in the meantime changed. The Aurangzeb Ministry which had been installed in the place of the Congress Ministry in May, 1943, by the Governor, and which was keeping itself in office only by the arrest and continued incarceration of the opposition members of the legislature, had made itself thoroughly unpopular by its cupidity, ineptitude and corruption. On 12th March, 1945, as a result of a no-confidence motion, it was overthrown, and a Congress Ministry under Dr. Khan Saheb once again came into power in the Frontier Province. One of its first acts was to order the release of Badshah Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars and other popular political prisoners.

The Cabinet Delegation arrived in India in March, 1946, and elections were held for the Central Assembly as well as in the province in the month of May. Badshah Khan took part in the 1946 elections. But it was more to

educate the voters than to secure votes. "I have not come to beg votes because these votes and the present Assemblies are not worth a penny to me," he told them. "I have brought you a message of friendship and good wishes to achieve freedom for which you have fought for years. You are on the threshold of freedom......avail yourself of this chance. Don't miss the bus this time."

Addressing the newly elected members of the Congress Parliamentary Party after the elections, he said, "You are aware that up to now I have taken no direct interest either in the formation of the Ministry or in its working. The reason is quite clear. I have never had any inclination for such things.......now.......friends have impressed upon me that working the parliamentary programme is also one of the ways of serving the poor masses."

On another occasion at Karachi, in a public address, he was referred to as 'Sultan'! His reply was characteristic. "Brothers, I am very grateful to you for this.... address. I am very sorry, you have referred to me as Sultan......Our movement of Khudai Khidmatgars was not intended to create Sultans. You know, the word Sultan means a King and the word King......has spelt poverty and misery......for the masses everywhere..... You are violating the very fundamentals of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, when you talk of Sultans."

In October, 1946, Gandhiji set out for Noakhali to build a golden bridge of reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims after the fury that had broken loose as a result of communal hatred preached by the protagonists of the 'Two Nations' theory. It set up a chain of similar communal outbreaks in other parts of the country in Bihar, Calcutta, the U. P. and at last in the Punjab and in Hazara in the Frontier Province and Sindh. It shook the Khan Brothers to their depths but it only made their faith burn brighter and clearer. In January, 1947, Badshah Khan set out to join Gandhiji on his mission of peace and mercy in Bihar, where his dignity and poise, rock-like firmness and abiding faith in the essential goodness of

to their pledge, had rushed to the succour of their Hindu and Sikh brethren in distress and helped to protect their lives and property.

The more he pondered over the root cause of the orgy of killing and devastation of innocent people's hearths and homes, the more distressed he became. But he never lost heart and exhorted all sane elements not to despair but to continue their peace efforts indefatigably. "Why do you despair of Hindu-Muslim unity?" he had once told a scoffer and a sceptic. "No true effort is vain. Look at the fields over there. The grain sown therein has to remain in the earth for a certain time, then it sprouts, and in due time yields hundreds of its kind. The same is the case with every effort in a good cause." Ever since his release in 1945, he had been devoting himself to reorganizing and purifying the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. He now decided to send out bands of selfless Khudai Khidmatgars on all-out tours in the province to appeal to the conscience of the misguided people in the name of God and humanity and bring home to them the error of their ways. "I hope and trust God will help me in the sacred mission," he said, "and people will duly recognize that the essence of love, truth and non-violence is the hall-mark of every good, free and prosperous society".

II
A New Ordeal

But God had another ordeal in store for him. The British Cabinet Delegation which had been sent to India, had in its 16th of May Statement outlined a plan of "grouping" as an "integral part" of their scheme for the transfer of power to the people of India. The Muslim majority areas in the North-Western and the Eastern Frontiers of India, under this plan, were to be formed into separate groups. The representatives of these respective groups would go into a section. The "section" in its turn, would frame the constitution for the group, individual units having the right to opt out by a majority

vote of the representatives elected under the new group constitution. Thus the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Baluchistan and Sindh came under group 'B', Assam and Bengal under group 'C', while the remaining Provinces, not included in either of these two groups, were put in Group 'A'. The idea was in this way to create Muslim majority zones in the north-west and the east, which would give to the Muslim League the "substance of Pakistan". The snag lay in the fact that although the foundation of the Cabinet Mission's plan had been declared to be voluntary, the effect of the grouping clause would be to compel the North-West Frontier Province, for instance, to join, against the wishes of its elected representatives, group 'B' which would be dominated by the protagonists of the "Two Nations" theory, which the former had categorically repudiated. It was further conceivable that the "section" might frame a constitution which might render it virtually impossible for a province to opt out of the group afterwards. But on the assumption that nobody could coerce a province to join a group if its people were determined not to go into it, the Congress had accepted the May 16 plan with its own interpretation of the provisions relating to grouping, which would leave the Frontier Province free to shape its destiny in the way it chose. The Khan brothers were not much concerned about the political aspect of grouping. They had no objection to joining any group or section which was prepared to guarantee to the Pathans full freedom to develop on their own lines. As early as July, 1946, Badshah Khan had declared, "I have no objection to be in one group with the Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan, but I must say this — that before entering into such a partnership all of us should sit like brothers and satisfy each other by removing certain doubts and assure one another that such grouping is in the interest of each province. Some people give it a religious colour, but that is not correct. What has religion got to do with it? This is an economic problem — a question of pure profit and loss. Nothing can

be done by force. Even a father cannot compel his son these days. Apart from this there is the second important question that requires attention — that of joining the Hindus when we are surrounded on all sides by the Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. How can it be possible that we should ignore one of our neighbours and over and above that neighbour's head join others? If we ever form a group, it can only be with the Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan and not with other provinces, as all Hindu majority provinces are hundreds of miles away from us."

But the 16th May plan of the Cabinet Delegation fell through and on 20th of February, 1947, Mr. Atlee declared in the House of Commons that in the event of an agreement not being reached among the major parties as regards the transfer of power and the future constitution on the basis of the Cabinet Delegation's May 16 plan, the British would have to consider how and to whom to hand over power on retirement. It was hinted that in the case of provinces that might not be fully represented in the Constituent Assembly, the power might be transferred on the basis of existing Governments in those provinces at the time. This meant that in the North-West Frontier Province the power might be transferred to the Government headed by Dr. Khan Saheb, and all the energies of the protagonists of the "Two Nations" theory were thereafter bent therefore to overthrow it. And what could be more handy for the purpose than an appeal to communal passions? The result was, as we have already seen, a widespread recrudescence of lawlessness against the Hindus and Sikhs in various parts of the province, first in the month of March and then again in April. Next, following the pattern of action adopted in Assam and the Punjab, 'Direct Action' was launched against the Khan Saheb Ministry.

In March, 1947, Lord Mountbatten came to India as Viceroy in the place of Lord Wavell. In April, 1947, he visited the Frontier Province. The occasion of his visit was utilized by the Muslim League volunteers to stage a demonstration and the Governor took him to attend the

rally of a group which had been engaged in a law-breaking campaign against his own Ministers, a strange thing for the constitutional head of a province to do.

The Governor did another strange thing. He tried to persuade the Viceroy to promulgate Section 93 rule in the Frontier Province and thereafter order fresh elections. He even got a garbled and falsified report of the proceedings of a Cabinet meeting, that was held during Lord Mountbatten's visit, sent to the Viceroy and refused to forward the note of his own Prime Minister embodying the corrected version, which had to be sent over the Governor's head to the authorities at Delhi. The fact is that the higher British officials in the North-West Frontier Province were determined to salvage as much as possible of power, which they felt was slipping out of their hands, by passing it on to their protegee and 'traditional ally', the Muslim League, originally their own pampered offspring, which had by now got under its own steam. The British Cabinet, on the other hand, while sincerely anxious to terminate British rule in India, saw no other solution to their dilemma than to make Partition acceptable to the Muslim League and for that it was necessary that the North-West Frontier Province should willy-nilly be made to fall into line with the Muslim League's demand. It is no disparagement of British sincerity to say that between the British Cabinet's good intentions and the higher British officials' intrigues the North-West Frontier Province fell a casualty and in the result justice was sacrificed at the altar of expediency.

During his stay in Bihar, Badshah Khan had seriously thought of retiring from politics altogether. The pettiness and selfishness of the game of power politics repelled him. But the developments in the Frontier now decided him otherwise. To retire from public life at that stage, he felt, would be tantamount to leaving the Pathans in the lurch in their critical hour. "We are passing through critical times," he said, addressing a gathering of Mohmand tribesmen. "The Englishmen and their henchmen are worried over the prospect of losing power. People

mislead you in the name of Islam......I feel it my duty to warn you against future dangers so that I may justify myself before man and God on the Judgement Day...... I cannot rest."

Referring to Sir Olaf Caroe, Governor of the N. W. F. Province, he remarked : "I have been in Delhi and I know from intimate knowledge that the same person who meets you at the *jirgas* and claims to be your friend, has been submitting reports aginst you and urging the authorities at Delhi to keep in readiness strong squadrons of bombers to rain death and destruction on you. Ask him when he again comes to you at *jirgas* whether what I say is true or not. Let him face me if he denies and I shall quote chapter and verse in support of my charge."

He recalled how only recently Sir Olaf Caroe had told the Frontier Ministers to remember that there was nothing in common between them and India and if they would agree to get out of the Congress, he would give them all his support !

Why did Sir Olaf Caroe want a new election in the Frontier, he asked. In the 1946 elections, which were fought on the specific issue of Pakistan, out of 50 seats the Congress had secured 32 seats including 21 out of the 38 Muslim seats, all the 9 Hindu seats and 2 out of 3 Sikh seats. Out of the 17 Muslim seats which their opponents had secured, 11 were from Hazara, which was a non-Pushtu-speaking district. "Sir Olaf's intention is plain. He wants to hand over power to those lackeys and henchmen of his — the Khans, the Nawabs and some officers — who helped the British in all the Khudai Khidmatgar struggles against the British. At the time of the transfer of power, Governor Caroe is only too anxious to hand over power to those friends of the British. There can be no other meaning of a fresh election. For it was only a year ago that the Pathans had given clear verdict on the election issue of Pakistan. The Khudai Khidmatgars were returned by the vast Pathan electorate in such a big majority.

"It is dishonest to give a political status to the communal movement of the Muslim League, whose followers have been indulging in crime."

The Governor's argument was that "the violent demonstrations throughout the province indicate lack of confidence in the Ministry." Badshah Khan pointed out that the Governor could have helped to prevent the shedding of blood if he had done his duty. In 1930, a misguided Pathan had fired at a British officer and the culprit was arrested, condemned and executed within forty-eight hours. When Miss Mollie Ellis was abducted and rescued, it was held up by a leading Tory paper as an illustration of how the entire resources of the British Empire could be mobilized to retrieve the honour of a British woman. During the six years of war, when the British themselves were in trouble, there was no trouble in the tribal territory. The British then wanted peace and there was peace. And now hundreds of people had been butchered, thousands orphaned and rendered homeless while the British power in the Frontier looked on, unwilling to take drastic measures, which their own Ministers asked for, to put down lawlessness, and instead, pointed to lawlessness as a reason for the removal of those Ministers, who had been returned to power by an overwhelming majority of the voters and still commanded a majority in the legislature.

He made a passionate appeal to Muslim Leaguers "to sit with the Khudai Khidmatgars in a joint *jirga* to tackle various important issues that are (were) likely to crop up after the departure of the Britishers from India. Now that the British are going, they should sit in *jirga* with us. We can patch up our differences today if they meet us like brothers and renounce their violent methods. I shall agree to any honourable settlement between ourselves if an earnest effort be made. Leaguers," he said, "fear Hindu domination, while we fear British domination. Let us meet together and convince each other. We are prepared to allay their fears. But, I ask, will they in turn allay ours?"

In June, 1947, he again made an effort at compromise. He told the Leaguers that they were quite willing to join Pakistan provided (i) it was on honourable terms, (ii) in case Pakistan, after Independence, decided to stay on under British domination, the Pathans in the Settled Districts or in the Tribal areas should have the power to opt out of such a Dominion and form a separate independent State, (iii) all matters concerning tribal people should be settled by the Pathans themselves, without the interference or domination of the non-Pathans, a right which had been conceded even by the existing Constituent Assembly.

The offer was turned down and the Partition came. The Partition plan provided for a referendum to be held in the Frontier Province to decide on the issue of accession. This was again an anomaly. In Baluchistan a quasi-representative body was created to order, to function in place of referendum. In the Frontier where a body of popular representatives already existed, to circumvent its verdict, recourse was had to referendum on a spurious issue. The Khan brothers declared that the issue of accession to India *versus* Pakistan was already dead considering that a Partition plan had been accepted in principle both by the Congress and the Muslim League and the Frontier Province was geographically isolated from the rest of India. They were not afraid of a referendum but it must be on the issue of autonomy for the Pathans in their homelands. In the alternative, the Pathans, said Badshah Khan, wanted absolute freedom to manage their affairs "in an autonomous Pathanistan within the Pakistan State".

The Pathan has a very strong antipathy, rooted in history, to being dominated by men of the plains. And accession to Pakistan, he feared, would mean domination by the Punjabi Muslim capitalist interests. "Our province has been swamped by the Punjabis who are trying their level best to make the Pathans fight amongst themselves," observed Badshah Khan in a statement to the Press. "Having lost a good portion of the Punjab through a communal

division, the Punjabi Nawabs and big capitalists are now after our province in order to make good their loss." Replying to the criticism that Pathanistan could not be self-sufficient, he gave a reply which was equally characteristic of him: "We shall be satisfied with our thatched huts and dry bread if our freedom remains intact. We prefer it to palace slavery. It is wrong to say that Pathanistan will be a deficit State. Today we are carrying on under a top-heavy capitalist administration wherein the Governor alone costs us *lakhs* of rupees. Besides there are other British officials who take away a large portion of our provincial revenue. If all this wastage is avoided, and the amount spent on productive schemes, we shall definitely be able to make our province self-sufficient.

"Let the Muslim League agree to contest the referendum on the issue of Pakistan *versus* a Free Pathan State, and if the masses vote for Pakistan in such a contest, I shall be the first person to support Pakistan." He was charged with playing the game of Afghanistan. It was a palpably false and ridiculous charge to fling in the face of a man with whom the freedom of his people was the breath of his nostrils. Even Gandhiji was forced to break his self-imposed silence in the face of the calumnious propaganda against one whom he knew to be the soul of truth and honour.

"Badshah Khan and his co-workers do not relish being asked to choose between Hindustan and Pakistan, bearing the unjust meaning, Hindus or Muslims......," he observed in his post-prayer written message on the 30th of July, his weekly day of silence and self-introspection. "The Khudai Khidmatgars will, therefore, not exercise their votes.......The charge that Pathanistan is a new cry is being flung in Badshah Khan's face. Even before the Congress Ministry came into being, so far as I know, Badshah Khan had in his mind Pathan Independence in internal affairs. He does not want to create a new additional State. If he can frame his local constitution, he will gladly make his choice of joining one State

or the other. It is difficult for me to understand the objection to this yearning after Pathan autonomy unless the object is to humiliate the Pathans and to tame them into subjection.

"The more serious charge is that Badshah Khan is playing into the hands of Afghanistan. I consider him to be incapable of any underhand dealing. He would not allow the Frontier Province to be absorbed by Afghanistan."

Gandhiji went on to add, "As his friend, and because I am his friend, I must admit one failing of his. He is highly suspicious especially of British professions and intentions. I would urge on all to overlook this failing which is by no means peculiar to him. Only it does not sit well on a leader of his eminence. I contend that though I have called it a failing, which it is in one way, in another, it is to be regarded as a virtue in that he cannot, even if he tries, conceal his thoughts. He is too honest to hide them."

So the referendum was held.* The Khudai Khidmatgar party and its supporters took no part in it, and the Frontier Province was declared to be a part of Pakistan. But for Badshah Khan the battle was not lost. It had just begun. Hitherto they had to wage a struggle against the British who were foreigners. Now their own brethren were in power. Surely they could expect a fair deal from them. They had not fought all these years merely to exchange one yoke for another. Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry

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* As for the "climate" on the eve of the referendum in Hazara, the following published statement of a Muslim League M.L.A. from Hazara, dated 3rd July, 1946, will give an indication:

> "I warn the Ministry that if any Minister tries to visit Hazara District for Congress propaganda, he will be killed," declared Khan Jalaluddin, M.L.A., Hazara District, in the course of a meeting held at Abbottabad to canvass support for Pakistan. He further added that before returning to Hazara the Hindus and Sikhs should clearly declare their full support to Pakistan and send a copy of such a declaration to the League Office if they want to live peacefully in the District."
>
> — *Hindustan Times*, 3-7-'46

was still in power after the Partition. It was too firmly established to be dislodged by normal constitutional means. So on 21st of August, 1947, it was dismissed by Qaid-e-Azam by a ukase.

On September 3 and 4, 1947, at a large gathering consisting of the Provincial *jirgas*, the Parliamentary Party, Zalme Pukhtoon (The Young Pathan League), Khudai Khidmatgars and representatives from Tribal areas at Sardaryab, Badshah Khan once more defined his demand of Pathanistan to mean full freedom for the Pathans to manage their internal affairs as a unit within the Pakistan State. " This new State," ran one of the resolutions adopted in the meeting, " will comprise the present six Settled Districts of the North-West Frontier Province and all such other contiguous areas inhabited by the Pathans which may wish to join the new State of their own free will. This State will enter into agreement on Defence, External Affairs and Communications with the Dominion of Pakistan.

" I have been working for the establishment of Pathanistan all my life," said Badshah Khan in the course of his address at Sardaryab. " It was for the purpose of achieving unity among the Pathans that the Khudai Khidmatgar organization was started in 1930. I stand for those principles today for which I stood in 1930. My path is therefore quite clear. I will not forsake it even if I stand alone in the world."

But the campaign of vilification against and persecution of Badshah Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars continued. Nothing daunted, Badshah Khan carried on an untiring campaign to educate and organize public opinion for the realization of his ideal of Pathanistan.

III

The Lone Witness

In January, 1948, Gandhiji who had inspired him and guided his footsteps on the path of *ahimsa* all these years, fell to the assassin's bullet and the Frontier Gandhi was

left alone to carry on his great and perilous non-violent experiment among the Pathans, which the two Gandhis had jointly planned and conducted. Never did he show himself to greater advantage or rise to greater heights than in the months following upon Gandhiji's martyrdom.

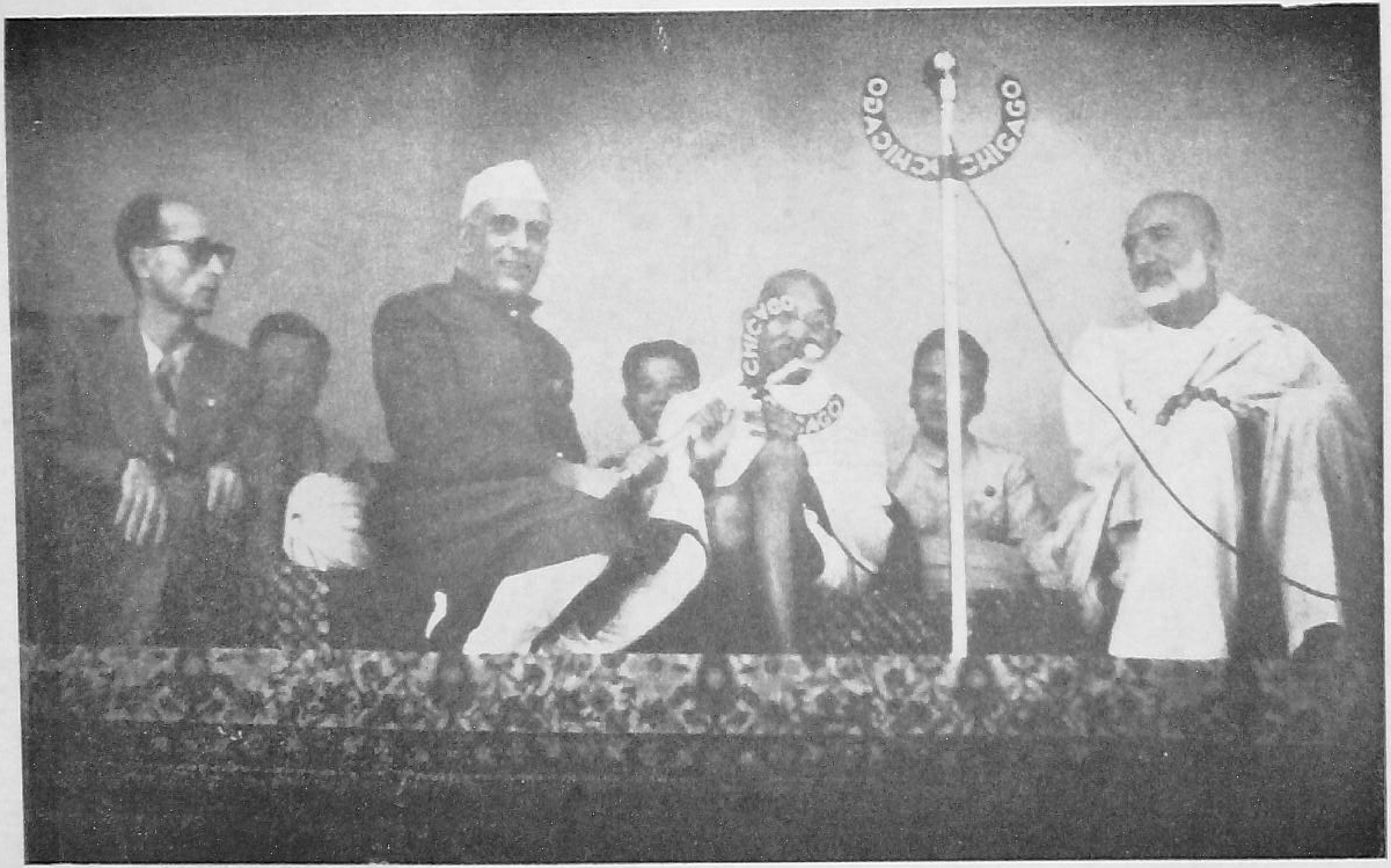
In February, 1948, he decided to go to Karachi to attend the Dominion Parliament with the express object of removing the misunderstanding that had been created in regard to him among the Muslims of Pakistan by a systematic propaganda of misrepresentation. In a series of trenchant statements to the Press he clarified his stand as regards Pathanistan :

"Pathanistan or Pukhtoonistan," he explained "would be an autonomous unit in Pakistan. It would stand for the Pathans just as Sindh stood for the Sindhis, or the Punjab for the Punjabis and Bengal for the Bengalis. The name North-West Frontier Province was a British innovation and as such it ought not to continue."

He categorically denied as baseless the charge that he wanted to truncate Pakistan by forging an independent sovereign State of Pathanistan. The very fact that he would be taking the oath of allegiance to the constitution of Pakistan ought to give a lie to that allegation. Explaining further the rationale of their demand, he said that the Frontier people were politically backward and belonged mostly to the poor and the middle classes. There was no capitalist class among them whereas Pakistan was dominated by very rich zamindars, capitalists and the upper classes. The policy now followed by Pakistan towards the Pathans was worse than the "Divide and Rule" policy of the British. The English rulers had not demoralized the Pathans as the Pakistan authorities had done now.

He replied in the negative to a question whether there was any connection whatsoever between the Fakir of Ipi and his organization. He emphasized that all reports of this nature were absolutely false and spread by their enemies.

He denied that there was a link between their organization and Afghanistan over the question of Pathanistan.



K. Natarajan

THEIR LAST PUBLIC APPEARANCE TOGETHER
(AT THE ASIAN CONFERENCE, 1947)
Gandhiji: "If India fails, Asia dies."

There were no other ties between them and Afghanistan except that the people of both countries belonged to the same racial stock and were connected with ties of blood.

Badshah Khan also denied having any connection with or knowledge of the recent move of the Afghanistan Government for the grant of the right of self-determination to Pathans and in respect of some other questions which had lately arisen between Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was purely a matter between these two Governments, he asserted.

Denying emphatically the charge that his demand for Pathanistan amounted to provincialism and that it was therefore against the spirit of common brotherhood of Islam, Badshah Khan asserted : " The essence of Islam is equality and not domination of one by another. We Pathans do not want to usurp the rights of others, nor do we want them to do so. In Pakistan there are four peoples, viz., the Pathans, the Bengalis, the Punjabis and the Sindhis. We are all brothers. What we want is that no one of them should interfere in the affairs of the other. All should enjoy complete autonomy. If one needs and asks for the help of the other, it should be given."

Asked whether that would not weaken Pakistan, Badshah Khan said that on the contrary it would bring about willing co-operation between the various units. He added, " I told Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to allow the Pathans to become a strong nation for their own defence and for the defence of the Muslims of Pakistan and for the good of humanity. I am a humble servant of humanity."

Asked whether they would demand a plebiscite on the question of Pathanistan and why they had boycotted the referendum, Badshah Khan replied that the referendum had been boycotted because of the wrong issues raised therein and also because of the improper manner of taking it. Now there was no question of having a fresh referendum on that matter which they would try to settle directly with Pakistan.

Asked whether he did not apprehend that after the death of Gandhiji the condition of Muslims in India would

worsen, Badshah Khan emphatically disagreed and added, "As long as in India there are alive......at the top leaders following the principles of Gandhiji such as Pandit Nehru, Babu Rajendraprasad and several others, Muslims in India have nothing to fear. Their condition will not worsen."

As an illustration of the length to which persecution could go, he narrated how in the month of January, 1948, a young boy of the Khudai Khidmatgars had come and stayed with him, carrying a pistol in those days of trouble and disorder to defend himself, if need be. This pistol belonged to the boy's uncle and both he and the boy said that Badshah Khan had nothing at all to do with the pistol nor even had any knowledge of it. Still Badshah Khan was convicted and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 2 or in the alternative, to "imprisonment till the rising of the court". He refused to pay the fine.

He concluded by reiterating his faith in non-violence, absolute and unqualified: "I am a practical man and will judge things by their results. For the time being, my main business will be to wait and watch. In all my actions, I will be wedded to non-violence, which has been the sheet-anchor of my life."

All eyes were turned on him when, speaking for the first time in the Pakistan Dominion Parliament, on the 6th of March, 1948, he elucidated the significance of the Pathanistan movement and made an impassioned plea for toleration and the practice of the Islamic teaching of equality and brotherhood in order to make Pakistan strong and prosperous.

Moving his cut motion to discuss general administration, he declared that "six months of freedom found Pakistan having an administration much more foreign and bureaucratic than even that which existed during the worst days of British rule. This," he said, "was in glaring contrast to India where at least more Indian Governors were administering an almost Indianized administration. The Government in Pakistan must become the

servants of the people, and except technical experts no foreign element should be permitted."

Remarking that the Muslim League's work was over with the establishment of Pakistan, Badshah Khan urged its liquidation and the formation in its place of a purely non-communal body pledged to serve the poor and the meek. Replying to ministerial interruptions, he retorted that Muslim Leaguers, particularly the Punjabis, were responsible for provincialism since the time Sind was separated. The Pathans wanted the same self-autonomous status as Sind, the Punjab and Bengal, he asserted. He desired neither to divide nor destroy Pakistan. India, he declared, had achieved freedom. Pakistan, with British Governors and more British in its administration than had been the case for years, had passed from one oppression to an even greater one. The Pakistan Government rule the country on such lines as the British had perfected and was in fact worse with its ordinance rule and foreign, extravagant ways of living. It complained of provincialism, but provincialism was the product of the Muslim League and of the Punjabis. "I want Pathanistan, but I want Pathanistan inside Pakistan just as the Sindhis want Sind and the Punjabis want the Punjab."

Continuing further, he said, "The Muslim League, existing as a communal organization, must be re-formed on an inclusive basis for all nationals of Pakistan if it is to contribute to the good of the country. While Pakistan must employ British and American technicians for industrial development, they must be removed from the administration, or the faith of Pakistanis will vanish."

In a Press statement, he gave a long catalogue of persecutions to which he and the Khudai Khidmatgars were subjected. The Pakistan Government had denied having gagged his paper *Pakhtoon*; only their District Magistrate had refused to accept the declaration authorizing its continuance after the previous publisher had resigned. "If non-acceptance of a paper's declaration and its consequent

enforced discontinuance is not gagging, I wonder what else it is ? "

As regards civil liberties, in Mardan District, he was not allowed even to continue social contacts and exchange visits with his friends. When he had to appear in court, Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code was clamped down on the whole area. On the occasion of Mirwas celebrations, the very same section was applied to the whole of Mardan and Peshawar Districts......True,......it had for its objective suppression of those who had been agitating for more food. But merely because it affected Muslim Leaguers also, it did not follow that people's civil liberties were intact. On the contrary, it only aggravated the charge inasmuch as it proved that the fundamental liberties of even the Government's own party men had, in the new set-up, disappeared. Thousands of citizens had been put behind the bars, without any legal trial, under Section 40 of the Public Safety Ordinance. Could Government furnish its own figures ?

Again, he did not know the precise nature of the mechanism devised by the Government to black-out news of the opposition parties, he remarked. But the fact remained that in two important Red Shirt gatherings, though the Press representatives were present, the proceedings were not published in any of the newspapers anywhere. "Surely, the Press representatives had not undertaken all that trouble aimlessly."

Such things, he concluded, were quite intelligible when foreigners ruled over the country. But now that Pakistan had become free, and a popular Islamic Government was said to have come into existence, it baffled his imagination why their Provincial Government chose to use "the same old bureaucratic.....methods of the foreigner-imperialists."

A touching little incident which was reported at that time in the Press may be recorded here for its human interest. During his last visit to Karachi, he was accompanied by about thirty Khudai Khidmatgars who, though themselves poor, had come at their

own expense and constituted themselves into his bodyguard. They kept a constant vigil by turns with arms at his residence in his village of Utmanzai and elsewhere during his movements, in order to protect him in the event of an attack on his life. Ten years before † when Gandhiji was his guest at Utmanzai, the question of posting armed night-guards for the safety of Gandhiji had arisen. Badshah Khan remembered the dialogue * he had with him on that occasion. "Badshah Khan," ran a press report, "had several times admonished them for keeping an armed guard over him in view of his adherence to the principle of non-violence. Still they had stuck to what they conceived to be their duty. They have great concern for the life of their beloved leader and their devotion to him is touching. They have to undergo great privations......but they do not relax the watch...... even for a single minute."

After Gandhiji's passing away, Badshah Khan, whose name had already become a legend, became the hope and succour of the downtrodden and the oppressed in Pakistan and the rallying focus of all progressive and liberal elements. At a tea party given in his honour at Karachi, it was remarked by a representative of the minority community of Sindh that during the life time of Mahatmaji they always went up to him for solving their difficulties, but after his passing away, they would have to run on such occasions to Badshah Khan, "whom they revered next to Mahatmaji". They therefore requested him to guide them in the difficult time that lay ahead. Pouring out his soul in a reply full of noble pathos, Badshah Khan said that it was the time of test and tribulations for all. The Khudai Khidmatgars had got their Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province, but after some years it was lost to them because the Ministry had not served the masses and the poor to the extent it should have done. It did not adequately fulfil its pledges to the masses. He said he had warned

† Described on page 54.

* See Chapter VI.

the Congress Working Committee of this weakness of the Congress Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province, but matters were not set right either by the Working Committee or the Ministry itself. "Truth and righteousness will ultimately prevail in the world," said Badshah Khan, "and only unselfish and devoted leaders, and not selfish and self-seeking ones, can secure the advancement of the country. Only when these qualities manifest themselves in the leaders, both of India and Pakistan, will the road to prosperity and advancement open before those countries."

Badshah Khan continued that he had listened carefully to the tale of woe of the minorities in West Pakistan. Trials and tests, he said, were always inflicted by God on mankind but only those nations, organizations and individuals who faced them with patience, endurance and courage ultimately came out successful.

Since the inauguration of Pakistan, he said, pure Ordinance Rule had been established in the North-West Frontier Province. Pakistan could not have come into existence but for the fight for freedom carried on for long by the Pathans and other sections in the country. If they had not forced the British to surrender power, Pakistan could not have come into being. But while quitting the country, the British rulers did not transfer power to those who had fought for freedom, but to others who had done nothing for it.

He was essentially a man of religion, he told the gathering, and he had always urged that the pledges of service to the poor made by them before God must be translated into action, which they had unfortunately not done, and owing to which they had suffered. At the moment of trial, they must control their anger and have a rigid code of morals and ideals which they must stick to through thick and thin and see that the code was also applied to the running of the Government administration.

In the course of his remarks before a gathering of the Pathans belonging mostly to the labouring class, he allowed his outspokenness to proceed perhaps to a perilous

length. The Pathans, he said, had for over a quarter of a century been in the vanguard of the battle of freedom against the British and it was they who had made Pakistan possible. The capitalist class at the head of Pakistan administration feared the Pathans because they were unselfish and ever ready to suffer in the cause of the country.

He had been strongly opposed to the division of India, he said. His stand had been well justified, judging from the bath of blood and untold miseries through which millions of people had subsequently to pass. Since the inauguration of Pakistan, however, he had regarded "the good or harm done to Pakistan as if it were done to himself."

The Pathans, said Badshah Khan, were apprehensive as to their future and wanted to know their exact place in Pakistan. If it was really intended to treat them as brothers, they should be consulted about the form of administration in Pakistan and other matters. In India, the Provincial Cabinets were consulted about the choice of their Governors whereas in the North-West Frontier Province, an English bureaucrat, disliked by the Pathans, had been inflicted over their heads. The Pathans consequently wanted to know their status in Pakistan. Would they be treated as equals?

The Khudai Khidmatgars, he said, did not want anything but the removal of the present poverty and backwardness of the masses of Pakistan, and in their efforts in that direction, they would stick through thick and thin to their life-long principle of non-violence.

On the 15th of April, 1948, he had a meeting with Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. The latter, it seems, wanted to know if the Khudai Khidmatgars would be prepared to merge themselves with the Muslim League or co-operate with the Frontier Ministry by going into a coalition with it. In reply, Badshah Khan, while reiterating his loyalty to Pakistan, expressed his inability either to merge with the Muslim League or to enter into a coalition with the Frontier Ministry. Qaid-e-Azam thereupon announced at a

mammoth gathering that the negotiations between him and Badshah Khan had failed. He urged the Pathans "to totally disown such people who make a pretension of loyalty to the Pakistan State but are out really to weaken its edifice."

On the 13th of May, Badshah Khan announced that he had decided to extend his Khudai Khidmatgar movement to all provinces in Pakistan. His organization of Khudai Khidmatgars, he explained, would serve as a volunteer corps to the Pakistan People's Party, which had just been formed and which elected him as its first provisional President. It was a non-communal organization inclusive of progressive sections in Pakistan that stood for liberal, democratic ideals. The aims and objects of the organization *inter alia* were: "stabilization and security of Pakistan as a 'Union of Socialist Republics, drawing its sanction and authority from the people through their willing consent'; provision of full and unimpaired autonomy for all and cultural relations with neighbouring States particularly with the Indian Union".

The convention before adjourning passed resolutions condemning the repressive policy of the Frontier Government in incarcerating in jail hundreds of Khudai Khidmatgars and demanding its complete reversal in the interest of Pakistan, and urging the release of Baluchistan's nationalist leader, Khan Abdus Samad Khan.

The convention which met in May, 1948, declared that the People's Organization would be fully prepared to co-operate with any party in power "within and without the legislature on the basis of an agreed programme ensuring stability, integrity and prosperity of the new State."

It was also resolved that in the absence of such an understanding, the policy of this organization would be to support the existing Government in Pakistan.

The formation of the new Pakistan People's Organization, it was soon made clear, was not regarded with favour by the Pakistan authorities. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, North-West Frontier Province Premier, denounced the

Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as an "enemy trying seriously to undermine the Pakistan Government", and characterized the oath of allegiance taken by him and his party as "nothing better than a farce".

"We will not hesitate to take measures if and when we feel necessary in the interests of our peace-loving citizens," he significantly added.

Badshah Khan was dubbed a disruptionist. "The more I think, the more I find myself unable to understand what the powers that be are heading for," remarked Badshah Khan in a press statement. "They appeal for solidarity and strength of the State in the name of Islam, but at the same time they are pursuing a policy of short-sightedness and petty-mindedness towards those of us who are at one with them in the fundamental principle of Pakistan's strength, plenty and prosperity, but who conscientiously differ from them as regards methods, approach and outlook towards that end.

"In the sister Dominion of India, before Partition, the Hindu Mahasabha and Dr. Ambedkar's Scheduled Castes Federation were deadly opposed to the Congress consistently at every step, but immediately when India attained freedom, all rival parties joined hands with the result that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Ambedkar are now colleagues of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, although they have not merged their respective organizations in the Congress Party in power. As against this, what is happening in Pakistan is utterly unfortunate and if this continues, not only those Muslim League leaders but the nation itself will have to suffer. I have so many times, through press and platform, pledged our loyalty to Pakistan, but still division is being created between Muslims and Muslims by their unfriendly, rather inimical attitude towards my party-men. I told them frankly, 'We don't come in the way of your administration, we don't want power, let Ministries, etc., be your monopoly, allow us to serve our countrymen in our own constructive way,' but even then they would not leave us to ourselves."

On the conclusion of the Constituent Assembly's ses-

sion at Karachi Badshah Khan returned to the Frontier Province to place before the people the programme of Jamiat-ul-Awam or the new Pakistan People's Party.

"I have witnessed the show of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly," he observed, addressing a mammoth gathering in Mardan District. "There is absolutely no difference between the Pakistan leaders and the old British bureaucrats.

"The most plausible argument which is usually advanced in their favour is that the new State is yet in its infancy. I invite them to look to India where the leaders have safely piloted the ship of State, despite extremely stormy weather. They have framed their new constitution, whereas nothing so far has been done in Pakistan.

"The only conclusion one can draw is that the present leaders of Pakistan are afraid of the democratic set-up. The leaders, who have their own axe to grind, consider Pakistan as their personal *jagir*. It is a pity that all of them are *muhajreen* (refugees) and do not originally belong to Pakistan."

He did not spare Qaid-e-Azam. "Mr. Jinnah, as the Governor-General of Pakistan, is not a representative of the Muslim nation. He was appointed by the British King and as such he is responsible to him and not to the nation.

"I now take this opportunity to bring home to you that Islamic Law or the Law of the Quran, as you call it, for which you have been crying so long and for which your dear and near ones have laid down their lives, would never be enforced in Pakistan."

Rising to a peroration, he concluded, "I warn you, my Pathan brothers, that you are partners in the State of Pakistan. You are fully entitled to a one-fourth share. It is up to you now to rise and unite and pledge to achieve what is your due. Be united and act with determination and thus demolish the sandy walls which the leaders of Pakistan have built around you. We cannot tolerate the present state of affairs any longer. Gird up your loins and march towards your cherished goal of freedom for the

Pathans, who have already made heavy sacrifices and suffered untold privations. We will not rest content till we succeed in establishing Pathanistan — rule of the Pathans, by the Pathans and for the Pathans."

Three days later he was arrested. His son Abdul Wali Khan and two other Red Shirt leaders were arrested with him. A summary trial was held in the little mud-plastered rest-house of Banda Daud Shah on the main road to Bannu. He was charged with 'sedition' and 'intended collaboration with the hostile Faqir of Ipi'. The Deputy Commissioner of Kohat, who was holding the trial, asked him to produce his defence. But beyond saying that he was not guilty, he refused to defend himself. The Magistrate then asked him if he was willing to furnish a security of good behaviour for three years as required under Section 40 of Frontier Crimes Regulation. But the Khan replied that "he had never given such securities in the past and would not do so now." The minimum punishment of three years' rigorous imprisonment with hard labour was then awarded to him.

Immediately after Badshah Khan's arrest, the North-West Frontier Province Government issued a communique explaining its action. After stating that notwithstanding the fact that the division of India was mutually agreed to by the Congress and the Muslim League, Abdul Ghaffar Khan "utterly opposed the establishment of Pakistan", the communique went on to say: "he advised his followers not to take part in the Independence celebrations on August 15 and not to take the oath of allegiance to the new State of Pakistan. Accordingly, his brother's Ministry which was in power at that time had to be dismissed for disloyalty to Pakistan......At the same time, he began enlarging his sphere of activities by founding the so-called People's Party by rallying together all old Congress elements in Pakistan......After his second visit to Karachi, Badshah Khan returned to the province with a definite and clearly laid out plot to create disturbances in the N. W. F. P. to synchronize with the expected and much-advertised advance of the Indian Army towards the

Frontier Province. The bombing of Garhi Habibullah gave further impetus to Badshah Khan.. ...."

It would be difficult to compress more untruth, distortion and misrepresentation in so narrow a compass. Badshah Khan had declared his acceptance of Pakistan as early as September, only he wanted the same status and rights for the Pushtu-speaking people in their homeland, which he wanted to be named 'Pathanistan', as the Sindhis had in Sindh, the Punjabis in the Punjab and the Bengalis in Bengal. The allegation that he did not take the oath of allegiance to the new State of Pakistan, and advised his followers not to take part in the Independence celebrations on August 15, even if true, became irrelevant after he took the oath of allegiance in Karachi in the Constituent Assembly and made an unequivocal declaration of his loyalty in its truest sense to the Pakistan State. One may ask what his alleged offence had to do with "his brother's Ministry which was in power at that time". Has it not the old, familiar ring of the wolf in the fable accusing the lamb, before devouring it, of muddying his spring? Again, why should it be an offence to enlarge one's sphere of activities or to form an opposition party, especially when that was pledged to non-violence? To dub the opposition as "Congress elements" is merely to give a dog a bad name and hang him, the hackneyed old way without even the merit of originality. Where is the evidence for the "plot to create disturbances" outside the fevered imagination of the author of the communique? If there was a plot to synchronize his (Badshah Khan's) alleged activities with the "expected and much-advertised advance of the Indian Army towards the Frontier Province", well, the Pakistan Government must have been party to it when it laid down the time-table for the Constituent Assembly to which Badshah Khan had gone to take the oath of allegiance and from which he could return to his province only at the termination of the session! "The bombing of Garhi Habibullah" was, as everybody knows, an unintended mistake of an I. A. F. airman due to foggy weather, for which India

Government promptly expressed public regret. Under the circumstances, how it could give "further impetus to Badshah Khan", passes one's comprehension.

Badshah Khan's own statement issued on 16-5-1948 ran: "I am constrained to note that despite my recent earnest appeal to my friends of the rival group, through Press and platform, they have not viewed sympathetically the coming into being of the People's Organization — but they are questioning the bona fides of my party men again and again, simply because at one time they happened to owe allegiance to the Indian National Congress. This is all the more unfortunate when the organization, in its main resolution, has implicitly extended its hand of co-operation in a patriotic spirit to the Government in power. The criterion of loyalty towards the State, according to the opponents, is unconditional surrender to the one-party rule." It is taxing too much the credulity of the world to be told to believe that this man whose passion in life was to wean his people from violence, which he considered to be their bane, and who had performed the miracle of almost converting the much-dreaded Pathan into the soldier of non-violence, all of a sudden foreswore his faith. It is incredible that this man, to whose transparent sincerity and truthfulness Gandhiji, after testing him through and through, bore testimony, could after reiterating his unadulterated faith in non-violence and loyalty to the Pakistan State with whose best interests he had publicly identified himself, jettison his life-long principles. The writer of these lines has known Badshah Khan, broken bread with him, lived with him as a member of one family under Gandhiji's wing. There is not another person today in India or in Pakistan who embodies Gandhiji's principles of Truth and Non-violence, his deep spirituality, meaning faith in and utter submission to the will of God and passion for service of His creatures, in a greater measure than or even in an equal measure with Badshah Khan.*

* So Mahadev Desai, who had an unequalled intimate knowledge

Thus ended and was consigned to the limbo of might-have-beens — only for the time being, one hopes, one of the noblest experiments of our times. It held out rich promise, and Gandhiji himself had fondly hoped it might provide a ray of light to a strife-weary world aching for peace. The continued incarceration of the Khan brothers constitutes a challenge to the civilized conscience of the world. If ever there was a case of martyred innocence sanctified by devotion to the highest ideals, it is theirs — particularly Badshah Khan's. They bear enmity towards none. Badshah Khan has no axe to grind, no personal ambition to serve. "I have been a soldier all my life and I would like to die one," were his words with which he declined the Presidentship of the Congress in 1934. He has inured himself to physical hardships as a matter of voluntary discipline. During journeys he carried his own kit, travelled third. When he came to meet Gandhiji at Borsad in 1931 for the first time, he had brought with him only one change of clothes, no bedding. "He will use no conveyance when he can walk out the distance, he will select the cheapest means of transport when he cannot do without it. He eschews all luxuries and lives on the simplest fare. He commands obedience and unflinching loyalty because he himself is an embodiment of those virtues." *

Whatever political differences the Khan brothers may have with the Government in power, their integrity is above question. I remember how, after Partition, during my last stay with Gandhiji in December, 1947, and January, 1948, Badshah Khan sent word to Gandhiji that he should not worry about him and Dr. Khan Saheb as they were deliberately not meeting him or writing to him in order to

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of both Gandhiji and Badshah Khan, writing in 1934:

"I do not yet know one who is greater than or even equal to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the transparent purity and the ascetic severity of his life combined with extreme tenderness of feeling and living faith in God".

— Mahadev Desai: *The Two Servants of God*

* *Ibid.*

put their bona fides *vis-a-vis* loyalty to the Pakistan State above suspicion. It would be doing them cruel wrong to suspect them of double-dealing or treachery. They are incapable of either. They love their country and people with a deep, passionate love. Badshah Khan is simple and straight as a die and by nature guileless at times to the point of embarrassment. Such a person can never be an enemy of a State that calls itself Islamic.

It is well with the Khan brothers. They are of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. They would be content to lay down their lives for the cause for which they have lived to the exclusion of all else. "I am quite certain that it is all God's doing. He kept me out just for the time He wanted to use me outside. Now it is His will that I must serve from inside. What pleases Him pleases me," Badshah Khan had remarked in 1934 when he was taken away from Wardha under a warrant of arrest by the then Bombay Government, to be sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. I am sure he would repeat the same today. But surely a better use could be found for such 'Servants of God' than to immure them alive behind prison walls.

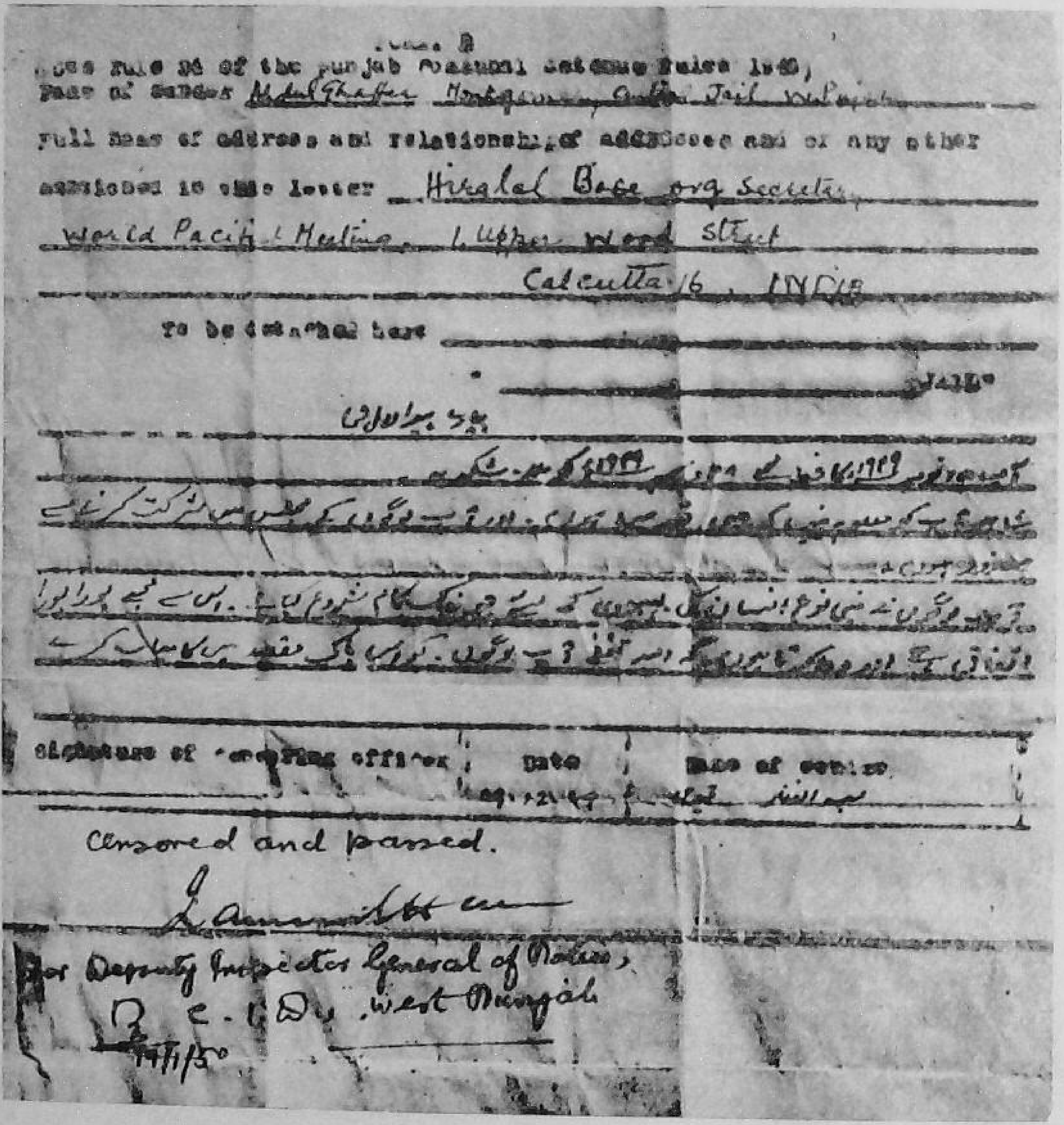
Would that India had a servant today like Badshah Khan — a Godfearing, selfless, truth-loving and fearless critic — to reprove the powers that be if they strayed from the right path; a man of sterling character, unimpeachable integrity and Christlike compassion for the downtrodden masses to whose emancipation and service every breath of his life is dedicated. A couple of persons of that type in either Dominion would be the safest guarantee for peace and amity between the two sister Dominions and — who knows — therethrough Asia and the world!

This is not to say that he has no faults or shortcomings. What mortal has not? I have already adverted to Gandhiji's comments on his proneness to extreme suspicion of Englishmen's intentions. We are what circumstances make us. I remember how in 1931, after the

Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhiji took him to Sir Ralph Griffith. Badshah Khan was unwilling to meet the higher ups. He was a plain, simple man, he said ; he did not understand diplomacy. Gandhiji persuaded him to go. On meeting Sir Ralph Griffith, Badshah Khan told him, "I am a plain man. I like a straight talk. Do not try to be diplomatic with me." The latter replied, "Khan Saheb, politics is a game with its chess-board moves and countermoves. I checkmate you. You checkmate me if you can." "Then, I am not the man for you," replied Badshah Khan and rose to go. Sir Ralph Griffith diplomatically changed the note and detained him and the interview proceeded. Years afterwards Badshah Khan narrated the sequel. "I placed before him my plan (of going among and winning the hearts of tribesmen by loving service). But instead of considering it, he put me into prison." He is hyper-sensitive and at times irritable. He is plainspoken and blunt to a fault, and when his righteous indignation is aroused, he pours forth speech like molten lava, which burns and sears the hidden lie in the soul. But the indignation is directed against the evil, never the evil-doer. All the same, it is a handicap in terms of Satyagraha, for it is an axiom in Satyagraha that Truth should never sound harsh when it proceeds from the fulness of love. Similarly, some other weaknesses could be enumerated. God rectifies the mistakes of His devoted servants but He never overlooks. The law of non-violence is inexorable, and any amateurishness in handling it may result in failure in terms of the immediate objective. The failure so called in that case would not be that of non-violence, but of the imperfect medium through which it was sought to be expressed. Instead of weakening one's faith or causing one to give way to despondency, it should make the votary of non-violence seek all the more God's grace without which man is nought.

> "For more is not reserved
> To man with soul just nerved
> To act tomorrow what he learns today ;
> Here, work enough to watch

Facsimile of a letter in Badshah Khan's own hand from prison in reply to the invitation to attend the World Pacifist Conference at Santiniketan and Sevagram in December, 1949.



Name of sender Abdul Ghaffar

Hiralal Bose org. Secretary, World Pacifist Meeting, 1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta 16, INDIA

To be detached here

Censored and passed.

for Deputy Inspector General of Police, West Bengal

Translation of Urdu Writing

My dear Hiralalji,

Your letter of November 15, 1949, reached me on December 8, 1949. Thanks.

Perhaps you do not know that I am in prison and am unable to participate in your conference.

I am wholly with you in the noble work which you have begun for the good of mankind and pray that the Almighty may grant you success in your sacred mission.

29-12-'49

Sd. **Abdul Ghaffar**
(Prisoner)

> The master work, and catch
> Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's
> true play."

Following upon Badshah Khan's incarceration the rank and file of the Khudai Khidmatgars were subjected to a series of reprisals. The biggest came on August 12, 1948, a date that will live long in the history of the Red Shirt movement in the N. W. F. Province. On that day the police opened fire on a gathering of Red Shirts assembled for a demonstration in Babra village in Charsadda *Tahsil*, converting the *maidan* in front of that village into a bloody shambles. The number of casualties officially given out were fifteen killed and fifty injured. But according numerous reports that came through later they must have run into hundreds. One eye-witness swore on the Quran that there were two thousand deaths. One of the biggest graveyards in that area is said to be in the neighbourhood of that village today.

After the massacre there was a man hunt of Red Shirts in which the military "who had been asked to stand by" took part. If even a fraction of what the rank and file of the Red Shirts are said to have passed through during that man hunt and since is correct, theirs has been a hard ordeal indeed. On them rests a heavy responsibility. Immured behind prison walls, their chief continues to bear witness to his unquenchable faith in a free and united Pukhtoon people, weaned from their tradition of violence and raiding habit, one day setting an example of bravery of the bravest of the brave to the whole world — a dream which he and Gandhiji dreamt together and for which they had jointly laboured. Let the Khudai Khidmatgars in their hour of trial remember and draw solace and strength from Gandhiji's prophetic words:

"If in the last heat the Khudai Khidmatgars prove untrue to the creed they profess to believe, non-violence was certainly not in their hearts. The proof will soon come. If they zealously and faithfully follow the con-

structive programme, there is no danger. They will be found among the bravest men when the test comes.

"Non-violence does not depend on anybody's sufference. It is its own seal and sanction. It conquers through innocent suffering and what may look like defeat. It never fails."

APPENDIX

QUINTESSENCE OF SATYAGRAHA

APPENDIX

The following cullings made by the author from Gandhiji's writings give in a connected form a complete outline of the Science of Satyagraha in theory and practice which Gandhiji expounded to the warlike Pathans :—

I

PREFATORY

Rights and Duties

1. I learned from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of the citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for.

2. Every man has an equal right to the necessaries of life even as birds and beasts have. And since every right carries with it a corresponding duty and the corresponding remedy for resisting an attack upon it, it is merely a matter of finding out the corresponding duties and remedies to vindicate the elementary equality. The corresponding duty is to labour with my limbs and the corresponding remedy is to non-co-operate with him who deprives me of the fruit of my labour.

Ahimsa — The Supreme Duty

3. *Ahimsa* is the means ; Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so *ahimsa* is our supreme duty.

II

AHIMSA — ITS NATURE

Ahimsa (Non-violence) — A Positive Virtue

4. In its positive form *ahimsa* means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of *ahimsa*, I *must love* my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active *ahimsa* necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. As man cannot deceive the loved one, he does not fear or frighten him or her. Gift of life is the greatest of all gifts ; a man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must therefore be himself fearless. A man cannot then practise *ahimsa* and be a coward at the same time. The practice of *ahimsa* calls forth the greatest courage.

Power of Non-violence

5. With *Satya* combined with *Ahimsa*, you can bring the world to your feet.

6. *Ahimsa*, truly understood, is panacea for all evils mundane and extramundane.

7. Non-violence in its dynamic condition does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

8. It is a profound error to suppose that whilst the law is good enough for individuals, it is not for masses of mankind.

9. It is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends.

Non-violence in Individual and Collective Life

10. I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale.

Non-violence — the Law of the Human Race

11. Non-violence is the law of the human race and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force.

12. The only condition of a successful use of this force is a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body and its permanent nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith and not mere intellectual grasp.

13. In the last resort it does not avail to those who do not possess a living faith in the God of Love.

14. Non-violence affords the fullest protection to one's self-respect and sense of honour, but not always to possession of land or movable property, though its habitual practice does prove a better bulwark than the possession of armed men to defend them. Non-violence in the very nature of things is of no assistance in the defence of ill-gotten gains and immoral acts.

15. Individuals and nations who would practise non-violence must be prepared to sacrifice (nations to the last man) their all except honour. It is therefore inconsistent with the possession of other people's countris, i. e., modern imperialism which is frankly based on force for its defence.

16. Non-violence is a power which can be wielded equally by all — children, young men and women or grown up people, provided they have a living faith in the God of Love and have therefore equal love for all mankind. When non-violence is accepted as the law of life it must pervade the whole being and not be applied to isolated acts.

Non-violence and Politics — Basic principle

17. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I

could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity.

18. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice no matter where it occurred.

19. To practise non-violence in mundane matters is to know its true value. It is to bring heaven upon earth. There is no such thing as the other world. All worlds are one. I hold it therefore to be wrong to limit the use of non-violence to cave-dwellers and for acquiring merit for a favoured position in the other world. All virtue ceases to have use if it serves no purpose in every walk of life.

Non-violence — Virtue of the Strong

20. I do believe that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.

21. My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or even weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent, but there is none for a coward.

22. Non-violence presupposes ability to strike. It is a conscious, deliberate restraint put upon one's desire for vengeance. But vengeance is any day superior to passive, effeminate and helpless submission. Forgiveness is higher still.

23. Forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns the soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature.

24. Non-violence is without exception superior to violence, i. e., the power at the disposal of a non-violent person is always greater than he would have if he were violent.

25. Man for man, the strength of non-violence is in exact proportion to the ability, not the will, of the non-violent person to inflict violence.

III

SOUL FORCE IN ACTION

Satyagraha or Soul Force — The Law of Truth

26. The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years. Its root meaning is holding on to Truth. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force.

27. In the application of Satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent.

28. For what appears to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

29. But on the political field, the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you or by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence Satyagraha appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

Satyagraha as Direct Action — How it Works

30. It is a force that works silently and apparently slowly. In reality, there is no force in the world that is so direct or so swift in working.

31. The hardest heart and the grossest ignorance must disappear before the rising sun of suffering without anger and without malice.

32. And when once it is set in motion, its effect, if it is intensive enough, can overtake the whole universe. It is the greatest force because it is the highest expression of the soul.

33. Since Satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a *satyagrahi* exhausts all other

means before he resorts to Satyagraha. He will therefore constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinion, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and coolly before everybody who wants to listen to him, and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to Satyagraha. But when he has found the impelling call of the inner voice within him and launches out upon Satyagraha he has burnt his boats and there is no receding.

Ten Commandments of Satyagraha

34. Satyagraha is utter self-effacement, greatest humility, greatest patience and brightest faith. It is its own reward.

35. As a *satyagrahi* I must always allow my cards to be examined and re-examined at all times and make reparation if any error is discovered.

36. Satyagraha is gentle, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion.

37. A *satyagrahi* may not even ascend to heaven on the wings of Satan.

38. He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

39. A *satyagrahi* never misses, can never miss, a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle. He needs no previous preparation; his cards are always on the table.

40. A *satyagrahi* bids goodbye to fear. He is, therefore, never afraid of trusting the opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the *satyagrahi* is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed.

41. It is never the intention of a *satyagrahi* to embarrass the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear;

it is, must be, always to his heart. The *satyagrahi*'s object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer. He should avoid artificiality in all his doings. He acts naturally and from inward conviction.

42. The very nature of the science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him.

43. A *satyagrahi* must never forget the distinction between evil and the evil-doer. He must not harbour ill-will or bitterness against the latter. He may not even employ needlessly offensive language against the evil person, however unrelieved his evil might be. For it is an article of faith with every *satyagrahi* that there is no one so fallen in this world but can be converted by love. A *satyagrahi* will always try to overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, *himsa* by *ahimsa*. There is no other way of purging the world of evil.

Weapon of Non-co-operation

44. Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good.

45. When we are firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done to us and when after an appeal to the highest authority we fail to secure redress, there must be some power available to us for undoing the wrong.

46. We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of his iniquity. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.

47. The business of every God-fearing man is to dissociate himself from evil in total disregard of consequences.

48. Non-co-operation predominantly implies withdrawing of co-operation from the State that in the non-co-operator's view has become corrupt, and excludes Civil Disobedience of the fierce type. By its very nature, non-co-operation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Non-co-operation too, like Civil Disobedience, is a branch of Satyagraha

which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth. Non-co-operation in itself is more harmless than Civil Disobedience but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than Civil Disobedience. Non-co-operation is intended so far to paralyse the Government as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it can bring the Government to a standstill.

49. Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state. Passive resistance is a misnomer.

50. My non-co-operation is with methods and systems, never with men.

51. Behind my non-co-operation there is always the keenest desire to co-operate on the slightest pretext even with the worst of opponents. To me, a very imperfect mortal, ever in need of God's grace, no one is beyond redemption.

Civil Disobedience — A Constitutional Weapon

52. Civil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau. Civil Disobedience is not a state of lawlessness and licence, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint. Satyagraha consists at times in Civil Disobedience and other times in Civil Obedience.

53. Nor is it necessary for voluntary obedience that the laws to be observed must be good. There are many unjust laws which a good citizen obeys so long as they do not hurt his self-respect or the moral being.

54. A Government that is evil has no room for good men and women except in its prisons. As no government in the world can possibly put a whole nation in prison, it must yield to its demand or abdicate in favour of a government suited to that nation.

55. Disobedience to the law of the State becomes a peremptory duty when it comes in conflict with the law of God.

56. A *satyagrahi* is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts

from him implicit obedience to the highest law, that is, the voice of conscience which overrides all other laws.

57. A *satyagrahi* sometimes appears momentarily to disobey laws and the constituted authority only to prove in the end his regard for both.

58. Civil Disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course, it becomes degrading and despicable if its civil, i. e., non-violent character is a mere camouflage.

Civil Disobedience — Inherent Right of a Citizen

59. Civil Disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil Disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal Disobedience can lead to it. Every State puts down Criminal Disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not. But to put down Civil Disobedience is to attempt to imprison conscience.

60. Complete Civil Disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it. An out and out civil resister simply ignores the authority of the State. He becomes an outlaw claiming to disregard every unmoral State law ......Submission to the State law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission therefore to a State law wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty. A citizen who thus realizes the evil nature of a State is not satisfied to live on its sufferance and therefore,........he invites imprisonment and other uses of force against himself. This he does because and when he finds the bodily freedom he seemingly enjoys to be an intolerable burden........Thus considered, Civil Resistance is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil State.

Requisites of Civil Disobedience — Discipline, Non-violence, Truth, Justice and Purity

61. A born democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine. I claim to be a democrat both by instinct and

training. Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by satisfying first this acid test of democracy. A democrat must be utterly selfless. He must think and dream not in terms of self or party but only of democracy. Only then does he acquire the right of Civil Disobedience.

62. Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant; must be based upon some well understood principle; must not be capricious and above all, must have no ill-will or hatred behind it.

63. For my movement I do not need believers in the theory of non-violence, full or imperfect. It is enough if people carry out the rules of non-violent action.

64. The first indispensable condition precedent to any Civil Resistance is that there should be surety against any outbreak of violence whether on the part of those who are identified with Civil Resistance or on the part of the general public. It would be no answer in the case of an outbreak of violence that it was instigated by the State or other agencies hostile to civil resisters. It should be obvious that Civil Resistance cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence. This does not mean that the resources of a *satyagrahi* have come to an end. Ways other than Civil Disobedience should be found out.

65. The beauty of Satyagraha, of which non-co-operation is but a chapter, is that it is available to either side in a fight; that it has checks that automatically work for the vindication of truth and justice in preponderating measure. It is as powerful and faithful a weapon in the hand of the capitalist as in that of the labourer. It is as powerful in the hands of the Government as in that of the people, and will bring victory to the Government, if people are misguided or unjust, as it will win the battle for the people if the Government be in the wrong.

66. In Satyagraha it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost.

67. Indeed one PERFECT civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong.

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* Though attributed to Gandhiji in some collections of his writings, obviously the quotation is someone else's but was published in Young India with his sanction and approval.

INDEX

[KK and NWFP are used as short forms of Khudai Khidmatgar and North-West Frontier Province in the index.]

Abbottabad, address to Gandhiji, 136-37; its past associations, 128; minorities' deputation to Gandhiji, 133; public meeting, 136
Abdali, Ahmed Shah, his Durrani kingdom, 17-18
Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 31, 47; his early career, 31; and his KKs, 49-50. See Badshah Khan
Abdul Qayyum Khan, 184; denounces Abdul Ghaffar Khan as enemy of Pakistan, 185
Abdul Wadud Badshah, Syed, shoots himself, 39
Abdur Rahman, Amir, 24, 25
Abdur Rahman, Baba, 9
Abdus Samad Khan, 184
Afghan War, First, 20; Second, 21
Afghanistan, British policy towards, 20, 21
Afridis, the, 7, 8
Ahmadi Banda KKs addressed by Gandhiji, 116
Ajab Khan, 81, 82
Akbar, 16
Alexander the Great, 150, 152, 158, 159; and Dandamis, 157-58; defied, 160; his invasion of India, 14, 155; his questions to *sannyasis*, 156-57
All-India Spinners' Association, some facts and figures, 141-43
Ambedkar, Dr. 185
Ambhi, Governor of Taxila, 14
Amtus Salam, Bibi, 161
Andrews, C.F., 11, 25, 31; his question of questions, 45-46; on air bombing, 45
Anger, and non-violence, 88
Arrian, 148, 150, 151
Arthashastra, 152-53; its solicitude for working women, 152
Asoka, his edict at Kalinga, 15, at Shahabazgarh, 153-54; his frontier policy, 16
Atlee's declaration re transfer of power, 168
Aurangzeb, his frontier policy, 17
Authoritarianism, in propagating religion condemned by Asokan edicts, 154
Azad, Abul Kalam, 134

Babra village firing on KKs, 193
Badshah Khan, 46, 52, 129; a hater of politics, 129; always suspicious of Englishmen, 191; and Afghanistan, 177; and Fakir of Ipi, 176; and Gandhiji confer, 71-78; and non-violence, 40; arranges Khattak dance for Gandhiji, 102; arrested by Pakistan Govt., 187; arrested for Bombay speech, 39; arrested for starting national schools, 34; arrested in 1942, 162; as interpreter, 69, 123; attends Nagpur Congress, 34; best disciple of Gandhiji, 189; charged with playing game of Afghanistan, 173; charges Caroe with intriguing, 170; compares Pakistan with India Govt., 185, 186; declined Congress Presidentship, 190; deplores communal madness, 164; entertains Gandhiji, 79-80; fond of humanitarian service, 130; Gandhiji on, 122; gives up idea of going to England, 32; his appeal to Muslim League to sit in jirga, 171, to Pathans for Pathanistan, 186-87; his aspirations about Pathans, 122; his character and personality,

189, 190-91; his choice for non-violence made in 1920, 138; his comments on British display of arms 112; his criticism of Pak. Govt., 186; his decision to extend KK movement to all Pakistan, 184; his defence and vindication of his policy, 181-83; his demand for Pathanistan, 175; his failings, 191-92; his faith in Gandhiji, 40-41, in Hindu-Muslim unity, 166, in service and non-violence, 42, 178; his first jail experience and release, 33; his first meeting with Gandhiji, 36; his first speech in Pakistan Parliament, 178-79; his horror for big cities, 52; his idea of a KK home for constructive activities, 73; his ideal behaviour in jail, 35; his interpretation of Islam, 139; his interview with Bernays, 42; his meeting with Qaid-e-Azam, 183; his mother, 32; his question to Gandhiji re seeking legal aid, 61; his reaction to charge of helping Hindus with KKs to subdue Muslims, 139; his readiness to join Pakistan, 172; his regularity in Namaz, 35; his reply to critics of Pathanistan not being self-sufficient, 173, to Karachi address, 163, to minorities at Karachi, 181-83; his sincerity, 164; his statement from Karachi, 176, from Peshawar, of 16-5-'48, 189, 165, in *Young India*, 41-42; his talk with Griffith, 191-92; his wander lust, 139; joins Gandhiji, 163; on fate of Muslims in India, 177-78; on how he was persecuted by Pak. Govt., 178-79; on India being one nation, 164; on lack of civil liberties and black out on news in Pakistan, 180; on Pakistan Govt., 178-79; on Pathan blood-feuds, 115; on religious quarrels, 36; on transborder raids, 74; on transformation of Pathans due to *ahimsa*, 139; opposed to move of new elections, 70; pleads with father for national education, 34; posts armed night watches for Gandhiji, 54; puts his daughter under Mirabehn, 39; released from jail (1945), 162; resigns from Working Committee, 162; says Quranic law has no place in Pak, 186; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment, 187; sets up a training centre at Sardaryab, 161; settles his future programme with Gandhiji, 139; starts national schools, 32; stays with Bajaj, 40; studies *Gita* in jail, 35; takes Gandhiji to Utmanzai, 52; takes part in 1946 elections, 162-63; throws himself into Rowlatt Act agitation, 33; urges liquidation of Muslim League, 179; with Gandhiji at Wardha, 39, 40

Bajaj, Jamnalal, 40

Bannu, deputations to Gandhiji, 93; plain described, 96-97; raid, 45, 92

Bannuchis, 9

Behram Khan, 31, 34; arrested and released, 33; his character, 32-33

Bernays, Robert, 42

Bhargava, Dr. Gopichand, 141

Bhittanis, 7, 8

Bibhuti, Gandhiji's visit to, 118

Black-and-Tan regime in NWFP, 38

Blood-feuds among Pathans, 114-15

British, how to drive them out, 99

British officers in NWFP, interested in spreading misrule and anarchy in the province, 171

British policy of border protection, 9-10

Buddhism in NWFP, 147-48

Burns, A., his commercial mission, 20

Burns, Sir William, his assassination, 20

Cabinet delegation, 162; its statement of 16th May, 166-67

Carlyle, Thomas, 52

Caroe, Sir Olaf, Governor of NWFP, and his anti-Congress policy, 170
Chandragupta Maurya, 14
Charkha, how Gandhiji came by it, 100; the golden bridge to unite rich and poor, 100
Charkha Sangh, charge against it, of being a Hindu organization, 142-43
Charsadda incident, of non-violent fearless behaviour of Pathans, 140; KK officers' assurance to Gandhiji, 57
Christianity, 78; and the sword, 59
Civil Disobedience, and Satyagraha, 85, 88-89; end of non-violence, not its beginning, 126; for Swaraj, suspension of, 85; in jail, 88; individual, launched upon, 162; right to, when accrues, 126; should be charged with goodwill or non-violence, 126
Communal riots in Hazara Dist., 165
Congress Ministries, resignation of, 161
Constructive non-violence programme, 133, 99
Constructive programme, its place in scheme of non-violence as a dynamic force, 99
Constructive work, training in, prescribed for KKs, 66; two types of, 97
Conversion, aim of jail going, 70
Cortez, 110
Crancroft, 148
Croesus and Solon, 136
Cultivators not molested by fighting armies in Ancient India, 152
Cunningham, 148
Curzon, Lord, constitutes NWFP, 22
Cyrus, King of Persia, 14

Daleep Singh, Maharaja, 18
Dalhousie, Lord, 20
Dandamis, and Alexander, 157-58; his discourse, 158-60
Darius, 1, 14
Davies, Collin, cited, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 23; his testimony to Pathans, 114; on Pathan civil warfare, 115
Delmerick, 148
Dera Ismail Khan 106; address to Gandhiji, 107; riots, 44
Desai, Bhulabhai, cited, 26
Desai, Mahadev, 36; on Badshah Khan's parents, 32
Diogenes, 158
Disarmament, power of, 103
Dost Mohammad, dethroned, 20; his death, 21
Durand agreement, 25
Durand line, 4, 21-22, 25
Dyer, General, 28, 115

Eden, Sir Anthony, on air bombing for police purposes, 44
Edwards, Major, subjugates Bannu valley, 19
Ellis, Mollie, 8, 82, 112, 171
Ellis, Mrs., 81
Elphinstone, Mount Stuart, and his 'Kabul Mission', 20
Emerson, his visit to Carlyle, 52
Evil-doers, how to tackle, 77

Fa Hien, 149
Fearlessness and non-violence, 89
Foreigners, treated with consideration in Ancient India, 151
Foundation Resolution of the Congress of 1920, 125
Frontier Govt.'s charges against Badshah Khan, 188
Frontier Ministry, meets Gandhiji, 117
Frontier Policy, of the British, too costly, 93; its recurring financial liabilities, 27
Frontier Province, a place of pilgrimage for Gandhiji, 123

Gandamak, Treaty of, 4, 21, 24
Gandhari, 14
Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 31; sought to be broken by Government, 37-38
Gandhiji, 31, 36, 160; a declared rebel against British Empire, 28; addresses KKs at Ahmadi Banda, 116-17; advises Kulachi people to take to charkha, 108; and Anglo-French agreement with

Hitler, 48; and Badshah Khan confer, 71-78; and the Munich crisis, 47-48; asks Tank KKs to be true *hamsayas* of local Hindus, 108-09; asserts that Islam was neither founded nor propagated by the sword, 58-59; at Dera Ismail Khan, 106-07; breaks away from Congress, 162; castigates Frontier Ministers and Congress M. L. A.s for not wearing *khadi*, 144; cites the case of Harijans fasting at his door, 61; cites Mir Alam's incident, 105; claims to have been a constant and ceaseless striver after non-violence, 137; clarifies Badshah Khan's position re Pakistan and Afghanistan, 173-74; compares KK with common soldier, 65; confesses debt to his wife, 89-90; criticizes Abbottabad address, 137; his address to Kohat public meeting, 82-83, to KKs of Panlala, 115; advice to Ashram girls to shed fear of Pathans, 84, to Czechs, 48-49; aim in living at Sevagram, 76; apology to his hosts re Ramzan fast, 111; death, 175; discourse on non-violence to Abbottabad public, 137-38, to the audience at Lakki, 103, to Manshera KKs, 132; faith in constructive programme, 100-01; impressions of the Frontier tour, 122-27; love for his mother, 32; non-violent solution of trans-border raids, 93; passionate appeal to KKs at Swabi, 69; prophetic words re KKs, 193; reply to Manshera public address, 131-32, to Peshawar Bar Association's address, 117, to South Indian officer's poser, 118; sharp rebuke to Dera Ismail Khan public, 107; speech at Bannu, 93; suggestion of a course in constructive work for KKs, 73, to send some KKs to Wardha for training, 74; talk to Red shirt officers on non-violent resistance, 56, with Abbottabad minorities, 133, with Badshah Khan on transborder raids, 55, with Bannu KKs, 87, with Hungoo KKs, 87, with Kohat KK officers, 83-86, with Nasarat Khel KKs, 87-91; test of non-violence, 57, 58; tour of Mardan Dist., 63; view re going to law, 61; visit to Taxila, 138; warning to KKs before they take to non-violence, 123; word-picture of Pathan characteristics, 67-68; yearning to be one with the poor, 100; how he came to discover the *charkha*, 100; launches satyagraha movement, 28; lays down crucial test of KKs' non-violence, 60; meets Charsadda KK officers, 57; meets Frontier Ministry, 117; objects to armed night watches, 54; on achievement of his S. African satyagraha, 56; on Badshah Khan's faith in *ahimsa*, 126; on Badshah Khan's hospitality, 122-23; on banishing anger, 90-91; on the calf accident on way to Bibhuti, 118-19; on constructive work in terms of non-violence, 83; on fight from behind prison bars, 88-89; on his harsh treatment of his wife, 90; on his losing temper with friends, 89; on kidnapping and raids by transborder tribesmen, 75, 93-96; on the observance of Ramzan, 90-91; on punishment of Dyer, 115; on purpose of visit to NWFP, 50-51; pensive on a Pathan's congratulations, 127; prescribes not-violent self-immolation to save a girl from outrage, 109-10; prescribes training in constructive work to KKs, 66; propounds philosophy of courting imprisonment, 67-70; receives address from Nowshera KK officers, 65, deputations at Bannu, 93, gifts from Munat Khan Kili people, 63, Kohat deputations, 82, *sarapa* from Sikh

shrine at Haripur, 119; refers all his problems to God, 40-41; relates his good relations with Pathans in South Africa, 67-68; reminded of his mother's ornaments on seeing relics in Taxila museum, 150; replies poser by KK at Panpiala, 116; repudiates charge against Badshah Khan in connection with non-violence, 57-58; sees Khattak dance, 102; sets out for NWFP, 47; sets out for Noakhali, 163; sounds and cautions KKs at Mardan, 67; takes Badshah Khan to Griffith, 191; urges Bannu KKs to adopt non-violence of the strong, 98; urges KKs to learn some craft as an independent means of livelihood, Hindustani, etc., 60; urges KKs to proceed further on the path of non-violence, 137-38; visits Bibhuti, 118, again NWFP, 161, the scene of Bannu raid, 96, Taxila, 147; warns Tank KKs to sign pledge after full consideration, 109, Lakki KKs to disarm only if they have faith in non-violence, 103

Garhi Habibullah, bombing incident, 187, 188, 189

Garhwalis, refuse to fire on unresisting Pathans, 30, 31

Goodwill or love, best rendering of *ahimsa*, 124; should be second nature with us, 124

Gopichand, Dr., 144

Governor of NWFP, 168, 169

Griffith, Sir Ralph, 191-92

Grouping according to Cabinet Delegation, 167

Habibur Rahman, his murder, 24

Haji Saheb of Turangzai, 32

Hall, Fielding King, 17, 147; his description of a Khattak dance, 103; on Pathan inflammability, 39

Hall, Stephen King, on Pathan character, 114

Haripur Panja Saheb shrine presents the Gandhis with sarapa, 119

Herbert, Mr., 18

Hind Swaraj, 100

Hindu-Muslim Unity, 99

History of Satyagraha in South Africa, quoted, 105

Hitler, 49, 68, 127; and the Anglo-French agreement with him, 48

Hungoo public meeting and address, 87

Implications of renouncing violence, 89

Indian Home Rule, on lawyers, 117

Ipi, Fakir of, 176

Islam, and the sword, 58-59; is unadulterated peace, 78; its essence, brotherhood, 177; most tolerant in the world, 165; religion of Peace, 139

Jail going, conversion aim of, 70

Jallianwala Bagh Congress Committee re demanding punishment of Dyer, 115

James, Major, cited, 18

Jamiat-ul-Awam, 186

Janamejaya's serpent sacrifice, 148

Jats, the, 9

Jaulian Buddhist monastery, remains of, 148-49

Jesus Christ and modern Europe, 59

Jilani, Abdul Qadir, story cited, 116

Jinnah, not a representative of the Muslim nation, 186

Jirga system, 9

Kalanos, 152

Kalinga edict of Asoka, 15

Kanishka, his empire, 16

Kautilya, 14; his economy, 152-53

Keene, General, 20

Keppel, Sir George Roos, See Roos-Keppel

Khadi exhibition at Peshawar, 141-46

Khadi movement and self-sufficiency, 142

Khan Brothers, above suspicion of communal bias, 135; arrested during Gandhi-Irwin truce, 37-38; not opposed to grouping as

such, 167; opposed to referendum on India or Pakistan issue, 172; their integrity, 190; true servants of God, 191
Khan Saheb, Dr., 35, 41, 52, 66, 141; his early career, 31; his interview with Col. Sandeman, 37-38; refutes charge against Charkha Sangh, 143; resigns commission, 34
Khan Saheb Ministry, direct action launched against, 168; dismissed by Qaid-e-Azam, 175
Khattak dance, 102
Khattak, Khushal, 9
Khattaks, the, 9
Khilafat, violation of, 28
Khudai Khidmatgar and a common soldier, 65; mark of a real KK, 84-85
Khudai Khidmatgars, 8, 46, 47; and local volunteers at Dera Ismail Khan, 107; crucial test of their non-violence, 68-69; Govt. repression of, 38; keeping vigil at Badshah Khan's residence, 181; significance of the terms, 125; subjected to reprisals, 192-93; their pledge, 50; urged to proceed further on the path of non-violence, 138, to work the constructive self-purification programme of Congress, 125
Khudai Khidmatgar movement, 31, 36-37
Khyber, caravan, 114; pass, 80
Kidnapping by trans-border tribesmen, 94
Kohat, address to Gandhiji, 82; deputations to Gandhiji, 82; disturbances, 29; pass, 80-81
Kulachi, address to Gandhiji, 108

Law Courts, fighting in, and non-violence, 61-62
Lawrence, Sir Henry, 18
Lawrence, Sir John, his masterly inactivity, 20-21
Life in Ancient India, 151-52
Lord God and the Serpent, 54
Love and tolerance, 119
Lytton, Lord, 23

McCrindle, 151
McMunn, on air bombing, 45
McNaughten, W., his assassination, 20
Mad Mullah, his *jehad* against British, 24
Maffey, Sir John, 34
Mahabharata, the, 148
Mahmud of Ghazni, 16
Mahsud Expedition, 25
Mahsuds, the, 7, 8
Majority community *vis a vis* minorities, 113, 135
Manshera Kisans' address to Gandhiji, 130, their grievances, 130
Manshera Public address to Gandhiji, 131
Maqsudjan, Mr., 112
Marshall, Sir John, 148
Marwat, Tahsil of, 102
Marwats, the, 9
Military organizations and peace organizations, 104
Minorities, duty of, 135; *vis a vis* majority community, 135; in Pakistan, their faith in Badshah Khan, 81, their position in NWFP, 133-35
Mir Alam, 105
Mirabehn (Miss Slade), 16, 39, 161
Modesty of innocent girl being threatened, case of, 109-10
Mohmands, the, 7
Mohammad Ghori, 16
Mookerjee, Dr. Shyama Prasad, 185
Mountbatten, Lord, comes to India as Viceroy, 168
Munat Khan Kili, inhabitants of, present gifts to Gandhiji, 63
Munich Pact, 47
Mussolini, 68

Nadirshah, his invasion, 17
Napier's exploit in Sindh, cited, 21
Nasarat Khel address to Gandhiji, 87
Nayyar, Sushila, 129
Nehru, Pt. Jawaharlal, 63, 178, 185; his car ambushed by tribesmen, 44, his visit to NWFP, 43; not allowed to enter NWFP, 41
No-man's land, 4, 11

Non-co-operation 28; and NWFP, 29
Non-Muslims in NWFP, 10
Non-violence, active principle of highest order, 75; and anger, 88; and fighting in law courts, 61-62; and respect for others' rights, 120; can be kindled in the heart by grace of God, 138; cannot be taught by word of mouth, 138; distinguishing mark of man from brute, 124; does not depend on another's sufferance, 193; fearlessness essential for, 89; how it was taken up in India, 97-98; how to protect *hamsayas* with, 116; inadequate rendering of *ahimsa*, 124; infinitely superior to brute force, 103; is like radium in its action, 76; is its own seal and sanction, 193; its acid test, 77; its two varieties, 97; mightiest force God has endowed man with, 124; no *guru* necessary for, 89; not mere disarmament, 138; not mere passive quality, 124; taken up by Indians, was of the weak, 98; transcends space and time, 76; way of 'unto this last', 100; whole meaning of, beyond man's grasp, 137
Non-violence movement, great boon to Pathans, 72-73
Non-violent non-co-operation, 77; and constructive programme, 79
Non-violent, soldier, should entertain love for all, 105; strength, practical hints for its cultivation, 86; warfare, laws of, 99
North-West frontier of India, 11
North-West Frontier Province, and Non-co-operation, 29; casualty between Cabinet Mission's good intentions and British officials' intrigues, 169; diarchy in, 42-43; excluded from Montford Reforms, 22; its fluctuating boundaries, 3; its inhabitants, 7; its military and political importance, 11-12; its mineral and potential resources and wealth, 5; its natural beauty and wealth, 3; its natural features, 5-6; its political divisions before Partition, 6; its present boundaries, 4; its role in Indian history, 11; land of contrasts, 3-10; made a Governor's province, 23; rich in associations of India's long history, 13
NWFP Government's communique re Badshah Khan *vis a vis* Pakistan, 187
Nowshera KK officers' address to Gandhiji, 65
Numbers, mere accession of, weakening, 132

Obhrai, Dewan Chand, 12, 22
O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, 27
Onesikritos, 157, 158
Orakzais, the, 7, 8
Organization of violence and that of non-violence, 104

Pakhtoon, the, 179
Pakhtoonistan, see Pathanistan
Pakistan and India compared, 185, 186
Pakistan, authorities charged with demoralizing Pathans, 176; leaders all refugees, 186, People's Party, 184; v. Free Pathanistan, 173
Paniala KKs addressed by Gandhiji, 115-16
Panini, 14
Paramananda, Rao Bahadur, 128
Parashurama, founder of Peshawar, 14
Patel, Sardar, 185
Patel, V. J., his report on Peshawar firing, 30
Pathan, has no racial significance, 7, 113; his strong antipathy to being dominated, 172; misrepresented by political and military departments, 12-13; mortal fear of, common in India, 84; revolt, 1897, 23; rising, 17
Pathan character, vilification of, by English writers, 114
Pathan Code of Honour, 114
Pathans, carrying away sentries with rifles, 114; civil war among, 114; their characteristics, 113; *vs.* Punjabi nawabs, 172; violence their bane, 71

Paurava (Porus), king, 155
Peace organization and military organization, 104
Pennel, Dr., the evangelist, 45
Peshawar Bar Association's address to Gandhiji, 117
Peshawar firing in 1930, 30
Philip, Macedonian Governor of NWFP, 14
Poona offer, 162
Porus (Paurava), 14, 55
Poser by a KK at Paniala, 116
Prince of Wales's visit and Bombay riots, 75
Pukhtu, language of Pathans, 8, 9, 113
Pukhtunwali, 114
Punctuality, 74
Pushtu, see Pukhtu
Pythagoras, 158

Qaid-e-Azam, dismisses Dr. Khan Ministry, 175; his announcement re negotiations with Badshah Khan, 183-84
Quit India struggle, 162

Raids, transborder, 26
Rajendraprasad, Babu, 134, 178
Ramzan, month, and Gandhiji's tour, 79
Ranjit Singh, creator of NWFP, 18
Raverty, on present-day Pathans, 152
Referendum in NWFP, boycotted by Khan Brothers and KKs, 174; climate on the eve of, 174
Religious toleration, in Asoka's edicts, 154
Roads, construction programme in NWFP, 24-26; metalled, 53
Roberts, General, 20
Roos-Keppel, Major, 25
Roos-Keppel, Sir George, his policy to placate Pathans, 34
Rowlatt Act, 28; agitation against, 33

Sabuktagin, 16
Sambhas, King, 156
Sandeman, Col., 37-38
Sandeman, Sir Robert, 44
Sandeman System, 44, 45
Sannyasis, questioned by Alexander, 156-57
Satyagraha, and Civil Disobedience, 85, 88-89
Satyagrahi, should regard 'enemy' as potential friend, 121
Savanarola, 157
Sect. 93 regime in NWFP, 162
Servant of God, known by service to His creatures, 125
Service of God, possible through service of His creatures, 85-86
Settled Districts, 22, 23, 25
Sevagram, 76
Shah Jahan, 17
Shah Nawaz Khan, Haji, kills himself to expiate his disgrace, 38-39
Sher Ali, 21
Shujah, Shah, 20
Sikhs and *kirpan*, 58
Sikh rule on the Frontier, 17, 18
Sirkap, one of the sites of Takshashila, 149-50
Slade, Miss, see Mirabehn
Slavery, banned in Ancient Indian law, 151
Smuts, General, 56, 77
Socrates, 158
South Indian officer's poser, 117-18
Strabo, 150
Swabi Tahsil, Gandhiji at, 69; KKs' assurance to Gandhiji, 70
Swadeshi, defined, 144

Takshashila finds, 148, 150
Tank Hindus' lament before Gandhiji, 108
Taxila, 128
Taylor, Reynal, 18
Telemachus, 157
Thornburn on Bannu, cited, 96
Timur's invasion, 16-17
Training necessary for a servant of God as for a soldier of violence, 125
Transborder raids, 55, 66, 74, 93; and kidnappings, 97
Truth and Non-violence go together, 90

'Unto this last', the way of non-violence, 100
Usury, unknown in Ancient India, 151
Utmanzai, its lack of drainage and sanitation, 54; its natural scenery, 53

Violence, bane of the Pathans, 71; eradication of, from the heart, 59

Wali Khan, Badshah Khan's son, 112
War, outbreak of, 161
Wardha Scheme of Education, 74
Wavell, Lord, retires, 168
Waziris, 1, 8
Wigram, Rev., 32
Wilson, Mr., on air bombing, 44
Working Committee Meeting at Delhi under the shadow of war, 47-48

Xerxes, 14

Yusufzais, 7